DEPARTMENT OF GEOSCIENCES AND GEOGRAPHY A66

Theory of Control Tuning
The Processing of Control in Migration-related Place Coping

SAIJA NIEMI

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI
FACULTY OF SCIENCE

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
To be presented, with the permission of the Faculty of Science of the University of Helsinki, for public examination in Auditorium 116, the Social Sciences building of the University of Helsinki, on 26 October 2018, at 12 noon.

DEPARTMENT OF GEOSCIENCES AND GEOGRAPHY A66 / HELSINKI 2018

Front cover photo by Mika Federley: A fabric bought by the author from the Kyangwali refugee settlement in Uganda
Back cover photo by Mika Federley
Cover layout by Anita Tienhaara
Maps by Kirsti Lehto

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This research was supported by (in alphabetical order) the Alli Paasikivi Foundation, the Doctoral School in Humanities and Social Sciences, the Emil Aaltonen Foundation, the Finnish Concordia Fund, the Finnish Graduate School in Development Studies, the Finnish Institute in the Middle East, the Jubilee Fund, the Kone Foundation, Naisten tiedesäätiö, Niilo ja Helen M. Alhon rahasto and the Nordic Africa Institute. The author takes full responsibility for the content of this book.

Publisher: Department of Geosciences and Geography
P.O. Box 64, 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland

ISSN-L 1798-7911
ISSN 1798-7911 (print)
ISBN 978-951-51-3985-6 (paperback)
ISBN 978-951-51-3986-3 (pdf)
http://ethesis.helsinki.fi

Painosalama Oy
Turku 2018

Niemi, S., 2018. Theory of Control Tuning: the Processing of Control in Migration-related Place Coping. *Department of Geosciences and Geography A 66.* Painosalama Oy, Turku.

ABSTRACT

In this study, I present a new theory – the Theory of Control Tuning – which demonstrates the importance of control in relation to migration. Control is a significant part of the every-day life of individuals and groups of migration actors, such as internally displaced persons, asylum seekers, recognised refugees, education- and employment-induced migrants, local residents and various authorities involved in migration.

Different migration actors experience a common main concern – the processing of control – regardless of, for instance, the type, length, nature and geographical area of migration. Thus, the study demonstrates that migration actors share something in common, irrespective of whether the migration in question is, for example, international or internal, and regardless of whether it is induced by conflict, environmental changes or economic, educational or other personal needs. The Theory shows how migration actors resolve challenges related to control by control tuning in connection to specific activities of migration, such as place coping, encountering authority, link keeping and knowledge dealing. As a concept, control tuning refers to the action of modifying control at various stages of migration in order to manage different events, situations, feelings, objects and actors. Control tuning generates control-tuning paths that explain various control-tuning causes, strategies and outcomes, as well as conditions and intervening factors.

The Theory is directly based on empirical data and it presents a novel way of considering migration through conceptualising both multi-sited primary data and secondary data. By using classic grounded theory methodology with an experimental twist, the data were raised from a descriptive to a conceptual level, thus allowing the new theory to emerge. The study presents a genuinely multi- and interdisciplinary theory. The Theory introduces new concepts and a new way of understanding the human relationships and issues related to migration. This study also contributes to explaining how space and place appear in connection to migration. In addition, it illustrates some of the challenges connected to migration research, especially in demanding fieldwork environments. The study closes the gap between empirical data and formal theory by generating a new middle-range theory. This then contributes to our theoretical and practical understanding of the phenomenon of migration.

Keywords: Control tuning, control, migration, refugee, asylum seeker, IDP, migrant, space, place, place coping, encountering authority, link keeping, knowledge dealing, grounded theory, qualitative data, South Sudanese migration

Said the wayward Lemminkäinen:

"I myself know hiding places,
But they're dangerous, dreadful places
Where the jaws of death would catch me
And a dreadful doom befall me.
O my mother, my dear bearer,
You whose milk has nourished me!
Where would you have me hide myself,
Where advise and urge my going?
At my mouth dark death is waiting,
By my beard the day of evil.
I have only one day left,
That one scarcely to the full."

Then his mother said to him:

"I will tell you of a good place,
Name a spot most excellent
Where the heinous can be hidden
And an outlaw find a refuge:
I recall a tiny corner,
A very little spot of land,
Never pillaged, never conquered,
Unharried by the sword of man.
Vow to me by oaths eternal,
Firm and without reservation,
That for six, for ten more summers
You will not go off to battles –
Neither for the sake of silver
Nor the greedy lure of gold."

Poem 28 "Lemminkäinen and his mother" from
the Kalevala epic of the Finnish people (translated by Eino Friberg)
In honour of the 100th anniversary of Finnish independence
Otava Publishing Company, 1998 Keuruu (pages 239-240)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is dedicated to my son and to my parents.
Omistan tämän kirjan pojalleni ja vanhemmilleni.

***

This research would not have been possible without the participation of so many people in Finland, Egypt, Uganda and Sudan. My deepest gratitude goes to the internally displaced persons, refugees, asylum seekers, quota refugees, other migrants, local residents and authorities who shared their personal experiences related to migration and their lives. Even in the midst of difficulties, many were ready to share and teach me about the challenges they faced. All I could give in return was the promise to talk and write about these issues so that the world could hear what it really meant to be part of migration. I hope I have been able to fulfil my promise and in small ways even affect some lives in a positive manner. I am grateful to the individuals and organisations that helped me in finding people to interview and events to observe and provided logistics and facilities. I am honoured to have been helped by those who taught me about the various Sudanese customs and who interpreted the stories that are at the heart of this research. In Finland, thanks go to Samuel, Thomas, Owen, Natalina and Alex; in Uganda to A. James, Kemisa and S. James; in Sudan to Naglaa; and in Egypt to Kazi. Thanks also to others who helped me with interpretation.

***

When I was working in development studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, I was very lucky to be surrounded by like-minded colleagues with similar international and personal experiences to my own. Today, every time we meet, someone always reminisces about the great times we had together in development studies. It was one of the nicest working communities I had ever worked in, so I would like to thank my colleagues for the good laughs and interesting discussions. Many of these colleagues became good friends during my years there, whereas I only got to know some after I had left. Thank you (in alphabetical order) Henni Alava, Minna Hakkarainen (also my Lammi writing colleague), Päivi Hasu, the late Petri Hautaniemi, Johanna Hietalalahti,

Masud Hossain, Riina Isotalo, Helena Jerman, Julia Jänis, Hisayo Katsui, Tiina Kontinen, Mari Lauri, Outi Lepola, Kaari Mattila, Lalli Metsola, Pertti Multanen, Irmeli Mustalahti, Henri Onodera, Liina-Maija Quist, Eija Ranta, Anne Rosenlew, Aija Rossi, Sirpa Rovaniemi, Märta Salokoski, Mariko Sato, Lauri Siitonen, Marikki Stocchetti, Piia Susiluoto, Heini Vihemäki, Gutu Olana Wayessa, Jussi Ylhäisi and all the others. I would like to thank Professor Emeritus Juhani Koponen for his support and positive attitude towards my research during my time in development studies. In addition, I would like to thank the Finnish Graduate School in Development Studies (DEVESTU) for financial and intellectual support.

After leaving development studies, I continued my work at the Department of Geosciences and Geography, Faculty of Science. Academically, my identity is that of a geographer, so I appreciated being back in the discipline, even though it had physically moved from the social-science oriented centre campus to Kumpula – a very different type of an environment. I would like to thank Professor Markku Löytönen for inviting me back to geography. I would also like to thank him for his comments in relation to my PhD process and especially for always recommending me to various committees and foundations during my numerous requests for recommendation letters while applying for funding, conferences and academic institutions. I want to thank Markku for also helping me with my non-academic writing: a children's book on New Zealand. Thanks also to Professor Emeritus John Westerholm, Professor Emeritus Harry Schulman, Professor Mari Vaattovaara and Professor Tommi Inkinen for having me in the division of geography during their terms as directors. In geography, I would especially like to thank Paola Minoia and Karen Heikkilä for discussions and sharing ideas. In addition, I want to thank colleagues for sharing coffee breaks, rooms and talks. Thank you Susanna Ahola, Annika Airas, Venla Bernelius, Eduardo Chica, Elina Eskelä, Salla Jokela, Kaisa Kepsu Lescelius, Katariina Kosonen, Maria Merisalo, Enrico di Minin, Arttu Paarlahti, Heli Ponto, Rami Ratvio, Maria Salonen, Mika Siljander, Mats Stjernberg and all the other researchers and administrative staff. A special thank you to Kirsti Lehto for drawing the maps.

The two pre-examiners performed the demanding job of reading and commenting on the dissertation. I thank Professor Emeritus Roger Zetter for accepting the task at a critical stage when the previous pre-examiner disappeared without a trace. I very much appreciate Roger's comments related

to my research and his understanding and appreciation of the originality of the Theory of Control Tuning. I thank Doctor Helen Scott for her patience when the pre-examination process became prolonged. I appreciate her views on grounded theory methodology. Helen took a great deal of time to comment on my use of GT, which helped me polish the dissertation. I also want to thank Professor Patricia Daley for accepting the invitation to act as the opponent in the public defence. I look forward to an interesting discussion on migration.

I want to thank the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the American University in Cairo for accepting me as a visiting research fellow for 2005–2006. Thanks also to the Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Program for hosting me – it was a pleasure to meet others who were interested in the same topics. Many thanks also to Professor Anita Fábos, who helped me at the beginning of the PhD process while she was working at the University of East London. I would also like to thank Iuliana Stefan, the Chief of Mission of the Regional Office for the Middle East and North Africa at the International Organization for Migration. I enjoyed working under her leadership at the Cairo office in 2001–2002 while I was designing and managing the Finnish Cultural Orientation pilot project. This project was my first proper contact with the South Sudanese conflict and migration. Thanks to Benaiah and others who worked with me in the project. Thanks also to Nermin and Hani for the hospitality during my time in Cairo. My time at IOM-Cairo also provided me with a chance to meet nice people, of whom quite a few helped me later on. I would also like to thank the staff in the Embassy of Finland in Cairo.

Doing grounded theory can be very challenging, especially when GT is unknown in one's research field. I was very lucky to be in contact with the Grounded Theory Institute and to attend Doctor Barney Glaser's seminars. This was extremely helpful for better understanding the methodology and in going forward with the theory development. In addition to Barney, I would like to thank all the fellows, experts and students who attended the seminars of Mill Valley (2013), New York (2012), Malmö (2011) and Oxford (2011) for interesting discussions, comments and peer support.

Many thanks also to the staff of the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, who welcomed me for a month's research visit. For discussions on migration and research, I thank Eveliina Lyytinen, Johanna Leinonen and other members of ETMU. Thanks also to Matthew Billington at the University of Helsinki for the language revision. I also want to thank my colleagues in doctoral education at

the University of Helsinki for the laughs and support. Thank you Kirsi Korpiaho, Tiina Käkelä, Hannele Pitkänen, Maija Urponen, Mikko Juusti, Tii Syrjänen and all the others.

***

To carry out research that is mentally and physically demanding also requires the opportunity for breaks. I am lucky to have great friends with whom to discuss other issues than research. I have known many of them for over 40 years, and it is certain that our friendship will continue for many years to come. I would particularly like to thank Anna Strandell, Annika Korolainen, Reija Koskela, Sanna Olenius and Emili Osara for their friendship. Many thanks also to all my other friends.

Suurin tuki elämässäni on aina ollut perheeni. Suureksi surukseni isäni menehtyi väitöskirjaprosessin loppuvaiheessa. Tiedän, että hän olisi minusta erittäin ylpeä. Suurin kiitos kaikesta tuesta ja avusta äidilleni Mirjalle ja isälleni Harrille. Rakas poikani Eliot on pitänyt huolen siitä, että väitöskirjani on edistynyt niin jalkapallokentän laidalla kuin mitä kummallisemmissa paikoissa. Poikani on osallistunut kanssani useisiin konferensseihin ja työtapaamisiin ulkomailla – on ollut mahtavaa, kun mukanani on ollut loistavaa matkaseuraa. Eliot, olen ylpeä ja onnellinen siitä, että olet poikani. Olet opettanut minulle paljon. Toivon että saat aina elää vapaasti siellä missä haluat eikä sinun tarvitse koskaan muuttaa pakosta muualle konfliktin tai katastrofin vuoksi. Olet elämäni tärkein henkilö ja rakastan sinua valtavasti.

In Helsinki, 29th July 2018.
Saija Niemi

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A	authority
EGY	Egypt
FIN	Finland
FN	field note
GT	grounded theory
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	internally displaced person
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
Kela	Social Insurance Institution of Finland
L	local resident
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGO	non-governmental organisation
QDA	qualitative data analysis
R	refugee/asylum seeker/resettled refugee/economic migrant/education-induced migrant
SPLA/M	Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement
SUD	Sudan
TCT	Theory of Control Tuning
UGA	Uganda
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

PROLOGUE

I have met many people during my travels, and some encounters I remember better than others. I once met a sick and fragile looking South Sudanese woman who told me about her experiences of migration. During the war in South Sudan, while she was still living in her home town, her husband had disappeared. She used the word 'disappeared', but I knew it was often a synonym for death. Then her eldest daughter disappeared. She had no other choice than to flee in order to save the rest of her family. She migrated through many places and went through horrible experiences. Then eventually she arrived at a refugee settlement in Uganda. By then she had been raped, had lost another child, suffered hunger and poverty and was close to desperation. Many things had happened to her, but when I met her the latest challenge she was facing was related to her daughters, of whom one had been sexually assaulted while collecting firewood. As a single mother, she had to fight for her daughters alone in extremely difficult circumstances. I had never seen the kind of strength she showed in a situation where even the strongest of us would have given up and accepted our fate.

I often wonder where that woman and her children are now. Similarly, I often consider the whereabouts of other children I have met during my travels. What happened to Bad Boy and No Name – children who were born of rape? Moreover, I find myself pondering the fate of the numerous people in different parts of the world who welcomed me into their lives while I was a migrant myself.

When I decided to take up the challenge of developing a migration theory, I wondered what would happen to all the important migration stories that I had heard and was about to hear. A theory enables us to understand a phenomenon like migration without reference to a particular place, people or time. Nevertheless, while the narratives and descriptions are hidden behind the conceptualisation, they never disappear. Stories are the backbones of many theories, just as they should be.

PART ONE: THE BASIS FOR THE THEORY OF CONTROL TUNING

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the background of the study and provides an explanation, according to different definitions, of the phenomenon of migrants and migration. Here, I offer a glimpse into the current global migration situation and present my personal interests in conducting this type of research.

1.1. Background of the study

Migration is a phenomenon that is difficult to ignore in today's world. Migration refers to population movement that occurs for various reasons, such as education or employment, or to escape conflict and man-made or natural disasters. International migration, which concerns crossing national borders, and internal migration, which occurs within nation-state borders, are often separated, both in research and in practice. Migration can be of different lengths and it can go in different directions. Migration was earlier understood as movement occurring for a particular duration, often at least one year, which excluded, for example, aspects of seasonal migration. Today, however, it is rare to see that kind of timeframe mentioned. According to the definition proposed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), migration is:

> The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification. (IOM 2017)

In common speech, the definitions for migrant, refugee and asylum seeker are often confused or conflated. However, in professional academic and bureaucratic languages these terms are defined in the following way. A migrant is a person "who has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is" (IOM 2017). In turn, the concept of a refugee is normally used in reference to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Art. 1A(2)), and as modified by the 1967 Protocol, as a person who:

> [O]wing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. (UNHCR 2017b)

In addition to the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention (AU 2016) defines a refugee as any person compelled to leave his/her country "owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality". Moreover, the 1984 Cartagena Declaration (EDAL 1984) states that refugees include persons who flee their country "because their lives, security or freedom have been threatened by generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order".

By contrast, an asylum seeker is a person whose claim for sanctuary is being processed and who is awaiting a decision on recognised refugee status. In the case of a negative decision, such a person is often required to exit the state where s/he is applying for protection. Some recognised refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) may be resettled in another geographical location. Often resettlement refers to a third country where a person is normally granted the right of residency in that state. Resettlement can occur through the humanitarian programme of a particular state or as a sponsored resettlement

programme where the person pays for his/her own trip and has a connection to the place where s/he wants to migrate.

In addition to asylum seekers and refugees, there are also migrants who move for education. This type of migration occurs at various levels of schooling, from for example vocational training to higher education. Migrant workers, on the other hand, is a term used in connection to the work-related aspect of migration. Migrant workers possess a variety of skills and education credentials, and they participate in migration for different periods of time, for instance as seasonal labour. There are over 150 million migrant workers in the world (year 2013). As the International Labour Organization (ILO) defines (ILO 2017):

> Migrant workers contribute to growth and development in their countries of destination, while countries of origin greatly benefit from their remittances and the skills acquired during their migration experience. Yet, the migration process implies complex challenges in terms of governance, migrant workers' protection, migration and development linkages, and international cooperation.

Europe suddenly awoke to the phenomenon of global migration in 2015, when migration across its borders reached a record high. Even though the highest migration figures are in the so-called global South, where many states and geographical areas struggle with poverty, conflicts and other challenges, migration in relation to the so-called global North attracts the most media attention, particularly in Europe and North America. In 2015 there were 244 million migrants worldwide, and as a share of the world population international migration has remained fairly constant over the past decades, at around 3%, as defined by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (IOM 2015). In turn, the United Nations Refugee Agency UNHCR (2017a) states that at the end of 2016, 65.6 million people had been forced from their homes, including 22.5 million refugees, over half of whom were under the age of 18. While there are no precise figures for the number of people displaced by natural disasters, 40.3 million people were calculated to have fled within nation-states from conflicts and violence at the end of 2016 (IDMC 2017). In fact, 20 people are newly displaced every minute as a result of conflict or persecution. In 2016 there were over two million new asylum claims, and over

552 000 people returned to their place of origin. By contrast, less than 190 000 people were accepted for resettlement in another country. Moreover, in 2016 at least 75 000 children were travelling unaccompanied. (UNHCR 2017a)

According to the UNHCR (2017a), 55% of the world's present refugees come from three countries: Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan, whereas Turkey, Pakistan and Lebanon are the top-three countries hosting refugees. Furthermore, the crisis in South Sudan accounts for the fastest-growing refugee population (UNHCR 2017a). Before South Sudan's independence (2011), Sudan had long remained one of the top areas for internal displacement. Moreover, in addition to the above-mentioned figures, in 2016, 10 million people were stateless or at the risk of becoming stateless, and were thus being denied nationality and access to basic rights (ibid.).

After completing my master's thesis on Mexican migration at the University of Helsinki, I was asked to study for a PhD; nevertheless, I wanted to work outside the academic world before perhaps continuing my studies. In 2001, while working at the International Organization for Migration, I was offered the opportunity to move to Egypt to plan and implement a pilot project on cultural orientation for Sudanese refugees who had been chosen for resettlement in Finland. During the project, I met many people, who were mostly looking forward to beginning their life in Finland. I later worked with other projects at the IOM, but my thoughts kept returning to the Sudanese people I had met and their situation in different countries of migration. After returning to Finland and while working at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, it occurred to me that I could use Sudanese migration and grounded theory methodology that I had already used in my Master's thesis to create something interesting in connection to migration at a general level. Consequently, I decided to leave the Ministry and return to the academic world, where I was accepted to work in development studies as part of the Finnish Graduate School in Development Studies at the University of Helsinki. Later, I returned to my "home" department of geography to continue with my dissertation. While working on my PhD, I became acquainted with many more Sudanese from different parts of what was then called Sudan, as well as with many other migrants, local residents and authorities from various places. I ended up conducting my fieldwork and grounded theory analysis at a very exciting time on South Sudan's route to becoming an independent state and during the developments of the Arab Spring. Later on, the tightening control of migration

in Europe, Australia and the United States and the exiting of Rohingyas from Myanmar all occurred while conducting my research. My visits to and periods of residence in many parts of the world and my varied involvement in migration, especially since the end of the 1980s, has provided me with insight into the global development of migration and the growth of people's knowledge of migration issues and the polarisation of their opinions. In the 1980s and the beginning of 1990s, migration was still a relatively rare phenomenon in Helsinki, my home city, even though not completely absent. Now seeing the rising number of migrants in Helsinki, the growing number of scholars interested in conducting migration-related research and the plethora of everyday issues related to migration in Finland, I cannot help but wonder at how migration has "taken over" so many aspects of society and working life. I feel that this increase in the role of migration also means that migration research is more relevant than ever. We need to understand migration from different perspectives and through different means. The Theory of Control Tuning provides one way of viewing migration that I hope serves not only researchers, students and other scholars but also those making and implementing decisions, both practical and political. Next, I turn to an explanation of the aims and justifications of the study.

1.2. The aims of the study

In a grounded theory study, one does not begin research with a ready-formed hypothesis but rather with an area of study interest, and such was the case in this study. My primary interest was understanding the issues that migration actors consider important in relation to migration. Based on my previous research and experience in migration, I knew there was a need for a common framework for international and internal migration as well as for forced and voluntary migration. In addition, a better understanding was required of the connections between agency and structure as well as the micro, meso and macro levels of migration. Moreover, the labelling of migrants and the lack of an overarching framework for combining migrants, local residents and authorities contributed to my interest in creating a new theory. Furthermore, I was also eager to use the grounded theory methodology to generate a new theory rather than verifying an extant one. I wished to see migration from a

novel perspective and combine issues that were normally studied separately. I believe theoretical conceptualisation is important in order to promote both our understanding of migration and encourage the development of single disciplines and also interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinarity within those fields.

The main aim of this study is *to understand the common main concern of various actors in migration, regardless of its type, nature and geographical area*. Thus, my goal is to demonstrate that migrants, local residents and authorities share something in common irrespective of whether the migration in question is international or internal, rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural or urban-urban migration, induced by conflict, environmental changes, or economic, education or other personal needs. Moreover, these actors function in relation to different levels of societies, such as micro, meso and macro levels.

The second aim of the study is *to close the gap between empirical data and theory by generating a new middle-range migration theory*, a theory that is directly based on empirical data and that has fit, relevance and grab. I wish to create a novel way of considering migration through conceptualising both multi-sited empirical primary data and secondary data. This then contributes to a theoretical and practical understanding of migration.

The third aim of the study is *to advance research in the field of migration, geography, social sciences and grounded theory methodology, and in any other discipline relevant to the new theory*, thereby contributing to disciplinary developments.

Finally, the fourth aim is *to explore the possibilities for multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity in the above-mentioned disciplines through a genuinely multi- and interdisciplinary grounded theory*, thus promoting interaction between various disciplines and enhancing the opportunities for seeing migration from a fresh perspective.

1.3. Justification for the study and its significance

There is general recognition that research into social phenomena lacks up-to-date theories and that the extant theories and concepts often fail to connect fully with the empirical data. I have often seen researchers and students in various disciplines forcing an extant theory onto their data without

understanding that a theory can be directly based on empirical data without an awkward mismatch. Many find it difficult to understand that a theory can be developed from empirical data through a well-defined process. Instead, they analyse data and invent some novel concepts that are more about their imagination than a theory firmly grounded in data. Joaquín Arango (2000: 294) comes to a similar conclusion about the gap between theory and empirical data but in relation to using a theory as the starting point for research:

> Rather than fulfilling the function of guiding empirical research and providing testable hypotheses that can be contrasted with facts, existing migration theories are mainly useful for providing explanations *ex-post*. The starting point is usually one or more common-sense, empirical observations, which are then dressed in more or less formal and abstract terms with fitting explanations, drawn at times from the general reservoir of the social sciences.

In contrast to Arango, I believe, however, that a new theory can be directly built on empirical data without starting from an extant theory. Arango also considers migration to be under-theorised. Moreover, he remarks on the extreme diversity of migration and the challenge this poses for theories:

> Perhaps the greatest difficulty of studying migration lies in its extreme diversity, in terms of forms, types, processes, actors, motivations, socio-economic and cultural contexts, and so on. It is no wonder that theories are at odds when trying to account for such complexity. (ibid: 295)

This study aims to connect various aspects, types and levels of migration and take into consideration different actors in order to find similarities rather than differences or dividing lines. When reading the literature on migration, it becomes very clear that attempts at theoretically connecting, say, internal and international migration or forced and voluntary migration are few in number and often limited in success. Even the transnationalism approach has enjoyed little success in, for example, re-theorising migration binaries.

This study strives to develop a multi- and interdisciplinary middle-range theory on migration. As I am using classic grounded theory methodology,

which, through a clearly defined procedure, leads from primary and secondary data to a new theory, the theory rests on a strong empirical foundation. The new theory will thus further our knowledge of migration and also contribute to developments of single disciplines and promote their multi- and interdisciplinary nature. A middle-range theory is neither an empirical description nor yet a formal theory that applies to all aspects of society. Robert K. Merton (1957: 9) defined theories of middle-range as: "special theories applicable to limited ranges of data – theories, for example, of class dynamics, of conflicting group pressures, of the flow of power and the exercise of interpersonal influence". In turn, Stephen Castles (2007: 365–366) suggests a starting point for the middle-range theorisation of contemporary migration as:

> The analysis of a particular migration system linking specific countries of origin, transit and destination, within the context of the wider social relations of globalisation and social transformation. This could lead to theoretical frameworks incorporating both structure and agency. *Structure* here would include macro-social structures (states, corporations, international agencies), micro-social structures (families, groups, social networks, local communities), and meso-social structures (intermediate networks or collectivities like the migration industry, or transnational communities). *Agency* refers to individual and group action, which helps people to survive and cope in specific situations of change or crisis. All these factors should be examined in a broader temporal and spatial context. Including *temporal dimensions* means considering issues of path-dependence – the way particular historical, political and cultural experiences shape understandings and actions. *Spatial dimensions* refers to the multi-level influence of global, national, regional and local patterns.

The purpose of this study was to collect data at migrants' spaces and places of origin, transit, destination, resettlement, return, employment, education and asylum, as well as at the spaces and places of residence, education, work and recreation of authorities and local residents. These spaces and places are part of different kinds of internal and international migration (such as migration for protection, education or work or habitual migration that has continued for decades or centuries), and they act as the surroundings for social interaction and bureaucracy, for example. Rural, urban and particular

migration-related spaces and places, such as refugee settlements, internally displaced persons' camps and resettlement areas, also form part of the migration under investigation. Unlike many studies, this research combines migrants, local residents and authorities. Individuals and groups (such as families and communities) are actors who have agency and who interact with one another. These actors form and participate in networks, the migration industry, communities and diasporas in different locations. Authorities also have agency as individuals and groups, but, in addition, they can also represent structures like states and international organisations. In the present study, the temporal and spatial dimensions of migration are present in various ways, including empirical aspects of the experiences of migration actors and interactions and political influence at different spatial levels. The theoretical connections between these factors will be explained in the coming chapters.

Some migration scholars call for a synthesis of the different extant migration theories developed across disciplines in order to build a comprehensive, empirically grounded theory of migration. This call, however, has often been made solely in relation to international migration (see e.g. Massey et al. 1993; Massey et al. 1994). However, the idea of synthesising existing migration theories into one all-encompassing and all-explaining theory of migration is viewed by many as an impossible and potentially futile task (Salt 1987; Castles & Miller 1993; de Haas 2011). For instance, Alejandro Portes, who considers middle-range theories the "strategy most worth pursuing" (Portes 1997a: 812), claims that such a general theory would be so abstract as to "render its predictions vacuously true". Hein De Haas (2011:15) considers that pessimism over the likelihood of one great theory arising has led to the abandonment of theorising migration altogether, which is a view I also hold. Nevertheless, I do not consider that synthesising existing migration theories in order to build a new larger theory is an appropriate way to proceed. Instead, I would rather concentrate on analysing empirical data in such a way as to develop new middle-range theories that can further promote our understanding of migration with a novel perspective and which can be developed into formal theories that express phenomena in other aspects of societies, hence providing a realistic view of the complexity of societies.

There are many ways to view and theorise migration (for a historical perspective on migration theories see e.g. Massey et al. 1993; Massey et al. 1994; Arango 2000; Brettell & Hollifield 2008; de Haas 2011). In migration

research, migration is often considered through either the determinants that lead to migration and the processes and patterns of movement or the way migration affects receiving and sending societies. However, there is less theoretical work on the migration-related behaviour that occurs both while staying put and while moving. As Arango (2000: 293) states, "theories of migration should not only look to mobility but also to immobility". Migration research lacks the frameworks to combine issues which, in the academic world, are often researched according to particular disciplines. Nevertheless, as Adrian Favell (2008: 260) remarks, "[t]here could hardly be a topic in the contemporary social sciences more naturally ripe for interdisciplinary thinking than migration studies". As Castles (2003: 22) observes, "[m]igration is an existential shift which affects every part of human life. No single discipline can adequately describe and analyse this experience on its own." Castles (2007) also states that it is difficult to conduct a useful study on any migratory phenomenon from a mono-disciplinary perspective or to avoid crossing over into the territory of some other social science. I also believe that no single discipline is sufficient for researching migration, especially when there is an attempt to theorise it. Castles (2003: 22) sees particular roles for history, anthropology, geography and some other disciplines in explaining the causes of forced migration and the dynamics of movement. He considers that interdisciplinarity will increase through roles that combine disciplines such as political science and law to examine rules, migration policies and institutional structures, fields such as psychology, cultural studies and anthropology to study individual and group experiences of exile, identity, belonging and community formation, and the disciplines of law, political science and social policy studies to analyse settlement and community relations. However, I find Castles' combinations of disciplines very limited. Instead, I believe there should be more variety of disciplines and issues involved in studying migration under one theory. Both this study, and its product, the Theory of Control Tuning, are inter- and multidisciplinary, as that they combine perspectives from disciplines such as psychology, geography, political science, nursing, sociology, philosophy and anthropology in order to explore migration issues and ideas. Hence, the study draws together several issues which are normally studied separately in individual disciplines.

In geography, migration has traditionally been a topic of strong interest, and it has been theorised by various geographers, including Ernst Georg

Ravenstein, Wilbur Zelinsky, Akin Mabogunje and Torsten Hägerstrand (for migration-related theories in geography see e.g. King 2012). Russell King (2012: 135) argues that "(human) geography – surely the most open and interdisciplinary of the social sciences – is best placed to appreciate and advance interdisciplinary thinking about migration". The migration studies and theories produced by geographers have been affected by such paradigm shifts as the spatial turn (e.g. Warf & Arias 2009; Bachmann-Medick 2016a), cultural turn (e.g. Jameson 1998; Bachmann-Medick 2016b), transnational turn (e.g. Glick Schiller et al. 1992) and mobilities turn (Sheller & Urry 2006; Cresswell 2010a; Cresswell 2010b; Faist 2013; Sheller 2017). The latest of these is the mobilities turn, which appeared at the beginning of the 21st century. Nevertheless, in my view, it has failed to secure wide acceptance among geographers conducting migration research, perhaps because migration studies and geography are such strong individual fields that it is considered unnecessary to place migration among the many other issues through which mobility is examined within the mobilities turn (such as transportation or mobility of products or information).

King (ibid.) separates geographical research on migration into three main phases: an early pioneering stage by geographers such as Ravenstein, Zelinsky, Mabogunje and Hägerstrand, with their statements on migration theory, a second phase involving quantitatively skilled population geographers contributing to the mapping and modelling of migration processes and patterns, and a third phase concerning the post-positivist, post-structuralist cultural turn, when social, cultural and feminist geographers began developing a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenology of migration, usually by using qualitative methodologies. Clearly, geographers have provided migration studies with a large body of research and numerous theories. The aim of my study is to further develop migration research in geography. The study belongs to human geography, migration studies and classic grounded theory studies. Moreover it has been inspired, in part, by humanistic geography, phenomenology and hermeneutics, which I will later explain in more detail. By contrast, I do not place this study within the mobility turn or any other turn per se.

Another justification for this study is the underuse of classic grounded theory methodology in geography, even though it provides interesting possibilities for developing a theory. I know some geographers who have

attempted to use it but have found the confusion integral to the methodology (see the chapter on methodology) overwhelming and have thus failed to develop a theory. In addition, grounded theory methodology has seldom been used when conceptualising migration. Furthermore, I also wish to contribute to grounded theory methodology studies by introducing a new migration theory to the field and using grounded theory methodology with an experimental twist. The combination of grounded theory methodology and geography will also contribute to grounded theory methodology studies by proving that the methodology is very much suited to geography. My hope is that the study will generate new concepts that will become part of the general migration lexicon. As Favell (2008: 275) remarks, "we need to renew conceptual tools with which we think of and recognize migration".

To conclude, rather than approaching theory formation from, for example, the perspective of how migration flows become self-perpetuating or seeking ways to combine the various extant migration theories into one theory, I believe it is necessary to examine the common denominators found in different types of movements and staying put, various migration-related actors and different temporal and spatial aspects of migration. This is the goal of this study and its new migration theory that reveals a pattern of behaviour. In later research, I will turn to an examination of how the same phenomenon found in this study relates to other phenomena and societal spheres, thus covering a greater number of issues than those concerning migration. In other words, I will seek to raise my theory from a middle-range theory to a formal theory.

1.4. Terminology in the Theory of Control Tuning

Some of the definitions and terms in this study are either new or their usage differs from that of other migration research or spoken language. In order to facilitate the reading and understanding of this dissertation, some of the central concepts are now introduced.

In this study, *migration* covers both the movement of migration actors between spaces and places and the spending of any length of time in a particular space or place. Furthermore, these activities are not limited to particular types of borders or areas or to any specific group of people. These

spaces and places can be what are commonly referred to in migration research as places of origin, transit, destination, resettlement, return, employment, education or asylum. This study covers both so-called internal migration, which in migration research generally means migration within state borders, and the crossing of international borders, which in migration research is often termed international or transnational migration. This dissertation also covers so-called rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban migration. In addition, migration involving places such as refugee and internal displacement camps/settlements, urban slums, urban centres, municipalities and rural areas are also present in this study. Migration research is often separated into forced and voluntary migration. By contrast, this study addresses both, as conflict-induced migration is strongly present through the data on South Sudanese conflict-induced migration, while employment, education and family related migration data are also used. In addition, some migration is closely related to the environmental and survival challenges occurring in certain places.

The term *migration actors* is central in this dissertation. Here, migration actors are not only people who have moved to another space or place; instead, migration actors are also local residents and authorities who do not necessarily move anywhere. Migrants include not only those who move or stay in a place due to employment or education but also asylum seekers, refugees, internally displaced persons, resettled persons and returnees. Local residents can be those who choose to stay or are unable to migrate from a place from where others migrate. Alternatively, local residents can be people living along migration routes and places where migrants move and stay. They do not necessarily share the same language, religion, nationality or ethnicity with migrants. Authorities are people who often have control, such as the staff of international and non-governmental organisations, the state administration or local councils. Authorities can also be staff working in schools, health centres and other work places. They can also be fellow migrants or local residents who have some kind of authority over migrants or other people related to migration. Due to this wider definition of authorities, the definite article is omitted, in contrast to traditional usage in the English language. Returnees are also migration actors. In practice they are migrants who return to their area or place of origin or to a location in which they have previously lived. They can also be people who have never lived in the particular place to

which they are returning but are termed returnees due to their heritage and connection to others who previously lived in that place.

Control tuning refers to the action of modifying control for different purposes in relation to managing events, situations, feelings, objects and people during migration. Control tuning arises when a migration actor adopts various control-tuning paths for coping in the behavioural arena of migration. In this research *control* includes various tactics and strategies for managing and governing feelings, actions, information and people as well as ownership of situations and objects. Control occurs in relation to one's own self and to others. Generally speaking, controlling is often considered a fully conscious act. In this research it is not always taken to be so. Actions that contribute to control tuning may be fully conscious, but they can also be subconscious acts leading to control tuning. Moreover, this study posits that a migration actor can think and feel that not only people but also situations, feelings and actions are in control. Therefore, this dissertation employs a wider meaning for the concept of control than that used in many studies, which view it as a purely conscious act. Furthermore, although only migration actors can adopt control-tuning paths in order to manage control related to migration, non-human agents can also be considered to have control (such as states or municipalities).

Control-tuning paths explain the causes of the need to adopt a control-tuning strategy in order to arrive to a desired control-tuning outcome. Control-tuning paths also include intervening factors which affect the paths and which may promote or prevent the desired outcomes in relation to control. Control-tuning paths appear in the related behavioural arena in manifold ways. In control tuning, control-tuning paths can vary in length and structure. Specific causes provoke actors to adopt control-tuning paths, which lead to a particular outcome through the use of one or more strategies. These control-tuning paths are affected by intervening factors, such as other people, diverse environments, skills, events, policies, rules and issues. These intervening factors at times hamper and at other times facilitate control. The chronological length of control-tuning paths – from start to end, from cause to outcome – can vary. Moreover, they can be fairly simple or they can be complicated. Control-tuning paths can also overlap and exist simultaneously. Furthermore, new control-tuning paths can arise while older ones continue to exist and are maintained or are completely abandoned. A particular control-tuning path can continue if a control-tuning outcome is dissatisfactory or it can end when a

migration actor achieves a satisfactory outcome. Control-tuning paths can be experienced by different people in distinct ways, and they demand actions accordingly. What is found at the end of a control-tuning path may not be the control-tuning outcome a migration actor was expecting at the beginning but rather something unexpected that is unacceptable to that actor. Moreover, to reach the end of a control-tuning path may require a great deal of effort, while at other times it may demand far less exertion. Some control-tuning paths feel more personal than others. Similar control-tuning paths can be used by many people while others are used by but a few. Some control-tuning paths are open to all, while others are more restricted. Control-tuning paths are sometimes adopted by a quick decision, while others are carefully considered. Control-tuning paths can also have a subconscious element, which means that little or no consideration is part of them. Some control-tuning paths are more affected by intervening factors than others, and control can be of a different magnitude.

Space and *place* are significant geographical terms. I provide a detailed explanation of the use of these concepts in this dissertation later on. However, briefly put, this study uses the concept of space to refer to a more abstract that does not evoke any particular strong feelings or thoughts. By contrast, a place is a space with a given meaning, experience and feeling. A place is significant to an actor; it encases memories and positive or negative feelings. However, a space can also become a place without an actor having experienced it personally. The meaning of a place can be constructed through imagination and the experiences of others. Everyday life occurs in spaces and places. Social interaction, relationships and actions happen in space and place. They form networks and appear in relation to structures thus affecting them and being affected by them. Therefore, space and place are also lived. A particular *space of control tuning* explains the complex relationship between control and spatiality in migration. Here, space and place are not only seen as abstract or experienced but also as including social relations, social and psychological processes and behaviour related to control. *Home* can mean a migration actor's place of origin, but it can also denote another place where s/he has previously lived. It can also be a current place of residence. Moreover, it can also be a place where s/he has never been but which s/he considers home for reasons of ethnicity or ancestry.

There are also several new concepts in the Theory of Control Tuning which should be briefly mentioned here, as they arise several times in the text. *Place*

coping demonstrates how migration actors deal and cope with space and place while moving along diverse routes and while staying in spaces and places. Place coping includes feelings and actual behaviour, both in everyday life and when facing particular challenges and problems. The different concepts related to place coping are explained in greater detail later in this dissertation when the Theory of Control Tuning is introduced. *Link keeping* explains how migration actors remain in connection with others. *Local mingling* refers to how friendship and being local appear in migration. In addition, there are particular opportunities and contradictions that occur in local mingling. *Negative tagging* refers to a person being treated with suspicion and being the target of negative actions. *Knowledge dealing* describes the role of knowledge in migration, particularly when a migration actor possesses or lacks knowledge. *Area grasping* explains how a migration actor understands and imagines an area, giving it meaning and making it a place in his/her mind; s/he has not been in this particular place but has heard about it, read about it or knows about it some other way. *Encountering authority* shows how control and power relations affect migration through the particular roles migration actors have in relation to others and the practical implications of those roles.

In this study the *status* of a migrant can be understood as the legal status received on the basis of legal agreements, conventions and procedures. It can also be an adopted status based on a person's thinking, feeling or treatment by others. All migration actors can contribute to defining a person's status. Migrant statuses, such as those of an internally displaced person, an asylum seeker, a recognised refugee, a returnee, a resettled refugee, or an education or employment-related migrant are all present in the Theory of Control Tuning. Only when there is need to emphasise status, such as when a person is forced to migrate due to human trafficking thus s/he is a forced migrant, is status used in the text. In this study the term migrant is used as a term regardless of the legal or adopted status of a given migration actor. In addition, migrants, local residents and authorities can all have a status based, for example, on their nationality, position at work, age or ethnicity.

The concepts outlined above, many of which have not been used in previous migration or geographical research but belong to the Theory of Control Tuning, are written in Italics throughout the text to help the reader better recognise them. The Theory's properties include several issues (so called incident groups) that I explain as being part of the *behavioural arena* in which

the theory operates. These issues are underlined to ease reading and they are mainly found in the chapter where I take the Theory back to its roots – that is back to the empirical data. Moreover, please note that in this dissertation at times grounded theory is shortened to GT, qualitative data analysis to QDA and the Theory of Control Tuning to the Theory. The abbreviation for the Theory of Control Tuning is TCT.

1.5. Context of the Theory of Control Tuning

The context of the Theory of Control Tuning is the control that occurs in a particular behavioural arena of migration. The context of migration in the Theory of Control Tuning has no particular time or space-related criteria per se. In other migration research, one year is sometimes considered the timeframe after which the terms migration and migrant can be used. In this study, migration movements can occur at different times with various intervals between them. Moreover, they can be of different temporal or physical length and can also appear in various environments and types of spaces and places. The primary data include both forced movements and those which are fully or at least partially voluntary. For example, a migration actor may have been forced to flee from his/her place of origin due to a violent incident, but may later migrate on a more voluntary basis to seek opportunities for livelihood or education. Conversely, migration may first occur on a more voluntary basis and then later become forced. Even when some stages of migration movements occur on a more voluntary basis and in the absence of, for instance conflict, a migration decision may also be influenced by compelling circumstances, such as a lack of alternatives, for example in relation to livelihood. It should be noted that a more voluntary-based movement can again become forced when another conflict-induced or threatening incident or situation occurs. (Theoretical memo 180914/2). Thus, the Theory of Control Tuning accepts that migration can be both voluntary and forced for whatever reason. The spaces and places related to migration movements and staying put can be of any type, including places such as those of origin, asylum, transit, return, resettlement, destination, employment or education. In practice, such spaces and places can be internal displacement camps, refugee camps/settlements, rural areas, border areas, towns, cities,

metropolises, nation-states, or those spaces and places created by nation-state alliances. Migration and its related issues appear at micro, meso and macro levels. In the Theory of Control Tuning, both structures and the agency of individuals and groups occur and influence each other. Even though the data from which the Theory of Control Tuning emerged is mainly from South Sudanese migration, as the Theory of Control Tuning is a theory, it is not tied to any particular group of people, time or space/place; instead, it explains control and migration at a conceptual level rather than through pure description. As a theory, the Theory of Control Tuning can be used to understand migration in any geographical location or time and in relation to any individual or group of people, regardless of their origin, ethnicity, religion, age, gender or other face-value variable.

1.6. Outline of the dissertation

Chapter One explains the background of the study and presents the main concepts used when discussing migration and the global migration situation. The chapter also describes the four aims of this study, which relate to the common main concern of various migration actors, dealing with the gap between empirical data and theory, contributing to different disciplines and promoting their multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity. The chapter also justifies the study in relation to the needs and perspectives of migration studies, geography and grounded theory methodology and presents the significance of the study. Here, I introduce the terminology of the Theory and the context in which it operates. In addition, the outline of this dissertation is presented.

Chapter Two introduces the methodological framework used for generating a new grounded theory – the Theory of Control Tuning – and reviews the history of grounded theory methodology and its use in different disciplines. I explain the validity of grounded theories through four criteria – fit, relevance, work and modifiability – and their contribution to the theory's grab. I also explain the differences between grounded theory studies and qualitative studies involving conceptualisation and description. I also examine the theoretical sensitivity required of a researcher when constructing a grounded theory. Next, I turn to a description of the difference between a substantive

and formal theory. After that, I provide the reader with an explanation of how the Theory of Control Tuning was generated. The chapter also demonstrates the methods I used for collecting primary data and explains my use of secondary data.

Chapter Three includes a detailed illustration of the fieldwork for the study and the challenges related to collecting primary data. As the new theory is largely based on primary data, I consider it important to demonstrate how the data was gathered and under what circumstances. I also provide a brief overview of the geographical areas where the research was conducted in order to illustrate the conditions in which migration actors live and work and where the fieldwork was performed.

In Chapter Four, I reflect on the ethical issues involved in this type of research, especially concerning data collection. Here, attention is directed not only to migrants but also to local residents and authorities. Ethical issues are of critical importance in migration research, as it is, in many ways, an extremely sensitive topic.

Chapters Five and Six centre on the Theory of Control Tuning. I present control-tuning paths that involve control-tuning actors, causes, conditions, strategies and outcomes as well as intervening factors. Next, I deal with the behavioural arena where control-tuning paths appear. Here, I present the different sub-core categories, categories and properties related to the core category of *control tuning*. Moreover, I define the sub-core category of *place coping* in more detail through its connection to the primary data. This means that I take the Theory back to its roots and demonstrate its connection to the empirical data. Here, I present excerpts from the primary data as well as memos written during the analysis. In Chapter Six I summarise how space and place occur in the Theory of Control Tuning, I also summarise the Theory of Control Tuning.

Grounded theory does not support any epistemological or ontological position per se. Nevertheless, in Chapter Seven, I reflect on phenomenology, hermeneutics and humanistic geography as the loose philosophical framework and disciplinary context of this study. In addition to explaining developments in these three disciplines, I demonstrate some of the similarities and differences between the grounded theory approach and phenomenology and hermeneutics. In this chapter, I also evaluate the multi- and interdisciplinary

nature of migration studies, grounded theory studies and the Theory of Control Tuning.

In a grounded theory study, a comparative literature review synthesising the new theory and extant literature is performed at the end of the study. In Chapter Eight, I demonstrate how the Theory of Control Tuning relates to extant theories, concepts and studies. First, I explain how control is defined and how control relates to migration, space and place. Then, I introduce how space and place are conceptualised and how space, place and migration are connected. Moreover, I also connect the Theory of Control Tuning to the central binaries of migration. These include internal/international, agency/structure, micro/macro and forced/voluntary binaries. Finally, I describe how similar issues and concepts are approached in other grounded theory studies and remark on the general lack of classic grounded theories related to migration.

Chapter Nine presents the contributions of the study and the Theory of Control Tuning and explains how the new theory enhances knowledge related to control, space and place, migration binaries, grounded theory and multi- and interdisciplinary research. In addition, I show how the study strengthens knowledge on demanding data collection and fieldwork.

In Chapter Ten, I conclude by assessing how well the aims of the study were achieved. I present the hypothesis of the study and aspects related to my personal learning. I also describe the limitations of the study and the possibilities for future research. The end of the chapter also includes some practical and policy recommendations.

2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I explain the methodology of grounded theory, its history and its use in research. I also consider the validity of grounded theory, how it compares to qualitative data analysis, its requirement of theoretical sensitivity as well as the difference between substantive and formal theory. In addition, I demonstrate how the research process proceeded and how the Theory of Control Tuning emerged. I also provide an in-depth account of data collection, as data play a crucial role in the generation of grounded theory.

2.1. Methodology of grounded theory and its use

> [G]rounded theory is the systematic generation of theory from data acquired by a rigorous research method. Grounded theory is not findings, but rather is an integrated set of conceptual hypotheses. It is just probability statements about the relationship between concepts. (Glaser 1998: 3)

Grounded theory is a general methodology that can be used on all data with the aim of generating a theory. It originated in the 1960s through the work in medical sociology of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Holton 2008; Glaser 2016). Glaser and Strauss (1965) analysed data on dying in hospitals, and published their research in a book entitled *Awareness of dying*. As Glaser describes the new theory took the world of research by storm and since then academia has shown great interest in understanding how the methodology can provide a way to develop theories. The methodology of grounded theory is derived from the different backgrounds of its two co-originators. Glaser studied quantitative and qualitative mathematics under Paul Lazarsfeld at Columbia University. Thus, Lazarfeld's quantitative techniques in content analysis, reason analysis, multi-attitude distributions, the secondary analysis of existing data and the interaction between effects influenced the conceptualisation of grounded theory. Glaser adapted Lazarfeld's idea that research contains both quantitative and qualitative elements. Glaser, who also studied theory construction with Robert Merton, brought to grounded theory Merton's view that substantive codes must be related by theoretical codes. While studying at the University of Paris, Glaser trained in *explication de texte*, which had an impact on grounded theory's constant comparative method. Strauss, in turn, studied qualitative research, including symbolic interactionism at the University of Chicago, and was trained by Herbert Blumer and Everet Hughes, representing the Chicago school of sociology. After receiving his PhD from Columbia University in 1961, Glaser went to the University of California San Francisco to work with Strauss in his research on dying in hospitals. While Glaser coded and analysed the data, Strauss conducted field work. (Glaser & Strauss 1967: vii; Glaser 1998: 21–33)

The rise of grounded theory is linked to the historical circumstances which made verification a dominant orientation in sociological work. From the late

1930s, quantitative researchers concentrated on producing accurate evidence and testing theories with "facts". Moreover, the use of qualitative data occurred in a non-systematic and non-rigorous way in conjunction with logic and common sense rather than through grounding theories in data. Qualitative research became a source of substantive categories and hypotheses for quantitative research, which would then take over by exploring them further, discovering the facts and testing the current theory. The quantification of qualitative data created the basis for the development of research methods in American sociology. This promoted the need for a method that generated theories that were grounded in data without distinguishing that data as qualitative or quantitative. Glaser and Strauss wished to demonstrate that the typical distinction between qualitative and quantitative data was useless for the generation of theory (see e.g. Glaser 2008). Thus, Glaser and Strauss attempted to create a methodology that does not work by logical deduction from a priori assumptions, closes the gap between theory and empirical research and promotes research with a real connection between data and theory. In addition, the fairly common perspective that only "great men" were permitted to generate "grand" theories to be subsequently followed and verified by students and researchers led Glaser and Strauss to demonstrate that theories can also be developed by others. Glaser, in particular, questions the way students are trained to master "great-man" theories, which they can only test in small ways without questioning the theory as a whole in terms of its position or manner of generation (Glaser & Strauss 1967: vii–18). I see this unquestioning respect for grand theories appearing in today's academia in the form of many students' being uncertain about how to deal with the "necessary evil" of including the theory perspective in their research. I also see it in practice when students consider themselves insufficiently intelligent to comment on the theories of such "great men", let alone to generate a theory of any level on their own.

Glaser and Strauss soon came to see the methodology of grounded theory in different ways (as part of this discussion, see e.g. Glaser 1992, 1998: 36–40), and some say that *Time for dying* (Glaser & Strauss 1968) already showed signs of the two scholars' different perspective on the methodology. Indeed, Glaser claims that the pair may have had different perspectives and ideas from the very beginning of their cooperation (Glaser 1992: 123–124). Glaser wished to remain open to the emergent factor in theory development, whereas Strauss

was perhaps more interested in particular concepts less true to the methodology itself. More specifically, Glaser believes in remaining open to the emergence of theoretical codes as opposed to using already existing concepts and forcing the data to have a particular result. When Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin wrote a book on research methods entitled *Basics of qualitative analysis* (Corbin & Strauss 1998), which emphasised the fact that grounded theory was a forcing procedure of analysis, it became obvious that the methodology of grounded theory had two versions: the Glaserian or classic version and the Straussarian or Strauss and Corbin version. Glaser's detailed discussion of the differences between emergence and forcing in relation to grounded theory can be found in *Basics of grounded theory analysis* (Glaser 1992). In addition to these two perspectives on grounded theory, other researchers have modified the methodology and attempted to find connections to other methods and scientific perspectives. The third best-known version of the methodology is the constructionist grounded theory of Kathy Charmaz (2008). In Glaser's view, however, there is only one grounded theory: the original methodology which emerged in relation to the research on awareness of dying and which Glaser and Strauss later published in the *Discovery of grounded theory* (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

Many analysts claiming to use grounded theory attempt to position grounded theory as a constructivist, positivist, pragmatist, neo-empiricist, interpretivist or realist approach (Holton 2007). In response to these claims, Glaser has repeatedly explained that grounded theory does not belong to any particular ontology or epistemology but that it can use any type of data and theoretical perspective (see e.g. Glaser 2005b; Glaser 2012). As Glaser (2005a: 145) states, "it [grounded theory] is simply an inductive model for research. It is a paradigm for discovery of what is going on in any particular arena". Research is normally divided along the lines of deduction and induction. Put simply, deductive research can be said to be conceived on the basis of the literature, from where a problem is identified and hypotheses are subsequently formulated. By contrast, inductive research involves obtaining data in an area of substantive interest and then analysing what is going on, conceptualising it and generating hypotheses as relations between the concepts. In grounded theory, the main focus is induction, which means that the researcher is interested in the ideas and experiences of participants in a particular substantive area. Deductions or inferences about what should or might be

occurring are excluded. The only element of deduction in grounded theory is in relation to where to collect further data on what is occurring. Thus, it can be said that deduction is placed in the service of induction. In grounded theory, deduction is closely based on grounded concepts and is constantly corrected; thus the theory is not logically deduced from the literature (Glaser 1998: 95).

Glaser's view on the methodology relates to its origins, whereas the views of Strauss and Corbin, as well as those of Charmaz, differ from the procedures and perspectives of the original grounded theory methodology. Glaser has continued to publish on grounded theory during recent decades, and while Glaser and Strauss developed grounded theory methodology in the United States, it is now also widely used elsewhere in the world in several disciplines, with its use being particularly popular in nursing and medicine (see e.g. Jussila 2007; Sandgren 2010) and business and management studies (Christiansen 2006; Holton 2007; Hämäläinen 2014). Grounded theory studies also appear, for example, in relation to education (see e.g. Scott 2007) and journalism (see e.g. Gynnild 2007; Martin 2007). In addition to studies based on qualitative data, quantitative studies can also be found (see e.g. Glaser 1993). The classic methodology also has many supporters in the Nordic countries, but in Finland its use has been rather limited, and it is employed by just a small number of individual researchers from a variety of disciplines.

In geography, classic grounded theory is seldom used. In geography-related methods and methodology textbooks and handbooks, grounded theory is seldom even mentioned, which is surprising given that it provides an excellent way to generate new theories in geography, as the theory can be based on both qualitative and quantitative data. I feel the relative absence of grounded theory methodology in Finnish geography is the outcome of several factors. First, the teaching of methods and methodology in geography seldom includes instruction on grounded theory; rather, preference is given to qualitative data collection methods like interviews and participatory methods and to quantitative and GIS-related methods. Second, the aim to generate a new theory is often considered too difficult for Master's and PhD students. Third, the few individuals brave enough to attempt grounded theory have often abandoned it due to the confusion inherent in the methodology and the lack of qualified supervisors with personal experience of conducting grounded theory studies. Fourth, theory formation is not seen as a central part of research in Finnish geography; thus there is no institutional interest in

promoting this field. Consequently, there is little interest in a theory-generating methodology like grounded theory among researchers and students, most of whom have never even heard of it. Finally, Finnish geography is experiencing structural changes which seem to be leading to a decline in the overall importance of cultural geography as an independent field at some universities, thus causing a decrease in the importance of research on patterns of human behaviour. In addition, university staff often seem to be employed for reasons other than their capacity for theoretical and conceptual thinking. There are only a handful of experts in grounded theory in Finland, and they are based in their own departments and disciplines and do not necessarily know about each other. It is common for students or researchers interested in grounded theory to participate in grounded theory seminars abroad and only then learn that there are actually other Finns using the method.

Many researchers claim to have performed grounded theory research, but closer examination reveals they have not used grounded theory methodology in its entirety, as it ultimately aims at theory emergence. Therefore, such researchers do not actually develop a theory but utilise parts of the methodology in a piecemeal fashion. However, grounded theory provides a clear procedure, and when used correctly, it can lead to an interesting new theory. I do believe it is also important to test the limits of a methodology in order to find new angles on how to develop it when necessary. Thus, in this research I have introduced an experimental perspective to developing and presenting a new theory. This experimental approach was influenced by the challenges of collecting data in difficult fieldwork circumstances, which I explain in more detail later in this study. It was also guided by my interest in understanding the common main concern of a variety of actors rather than that of just one group. The presentation of this study differs from a regular grounded theory study in the way the new theory is taken back to its empirical roots. Moreover, I present one aspect of the theory – *control tuning* in *place coping* – in greater detail than the others.

2.2. Validity of grounded theory

Instead of beginning a study with a hypothesis that is often based on a literature review or preconceptions about a particular research topic, a grounded theory study begins with data and ends with a new theory. In grounded theory, researchers do not begin with preconceived ideas or an extant theory and then force them on the data for the purpose of verifying their ideas and previous theories; it is the data that control the emergent theory. Thus, grounded theory avoids the problem of honouring an extant theory that does not work or genuinely relate to a particular data set. In grounded theory research, the task of the researcher is not to verify but to generate, thus providing the academic world with a new theory rather than proving an extant theory created by others. Grounded theory looks for what is, not what might be, and therefore, according to Glaser (1992: 67), it needs no testing. Grounded theory is an interrelated set of hypotheses grounded in and emerging from the data by the constant comparative method. Researchers interested in verificational studies can later test the hypotheses that emerged from a grounded theory study if they so wish.

A grounded theory study is validated through four central criteria: *fit*, *relevance*, *work* and *modifiability* (Glaser 1998: 236–238). *Fit* refers to the ability of a concept to represent the pattern of data it claims to express. The fit is continually sharpened by constant comparisons performed by the researcher. In other types of research, it is often the case that the concepts explained in the research are very hard to find in or are not directly connected to the data. Consequently, the theory stands alone without its concepts being data-grounded. In grounded theory this is not the case, as the researcher begins the formulation of a theory by turning to the data to generate concepts through open and selective coding. At the same time, the researcher constantly seeks the best word to explain the pattern as constant comparisons occur and the pattern emerges. The pattern and its name come from the data and are not separate from the new theory. Theory and data fit together.

Relevance is another criterion that validates grounded theory. Emergent concepts arise from the data; thus they relate to participants' real issues and experiences in a substantive area of study. Grounded theory generates a theory on what is really occurring and how it is continually resolved by those involved.

Grounded theory explains what is important to people, rather than merely explaining some remote issues that may, in reality, have little or nothing to do with them. Through the direct link between data and theory, there is impact and the theory is relevant.

With fit and relevance comes the third criterion: *work*. Through constant comparison and emerging concepts, the researcher begins to integrate the core category, sub-core categories, categories and properties of a theory that accounts for most of the variation of behaviour in the substantive area. Through its concepts and theoretical coding, the theory explains what is occurring and how those involved continually resolve their main concern. This connection between practical incidents and theoretical concepts works by introducing the link between practical behaviour and theory in a particular substantive area. This workability demonstrates that we can understand and apply a theory to that area.

New incidents and new data can be applied to the grounded theory. Through constant comparison, the theory can be constantly *modified* to fit and work with relevance. Grounded theory thus contrasts with verification, where a theory may be proved "wrong" or the data used can be shown to be inadequate. In grounded theory there is no "wrong" theory or the forcing of data – grounded theory can be modified at any stage of the process and can also be modified later by anyone bringing new incidents about the same or different substantive area. Modifications are accepted as part of the grounded theory process. Through modifying a grounded theory, the theory can be brought from a substantive to a formal level.

These criteria of fit, relevance, work and modifiability contribute to the theory having *grab*. People feel they understand the theory and they can think of situations in their own life that the theory explains. For example, *control tuning*, the behavioural pattern of the Theory of Control Tuning, can be seen through, say, the actions of parents in their encounters and tasks in everyday life or through ice-hockey coaches training their players. A grounded theory makes sense to people. The validity of grounded theory is evident through its temporal trust. As Glaser (ibid: 238) states, there is a "nowism" dimension, which means that grounded theory has instant grab and people can see it everywhere in the present moment and use the idea and the theory's concepts immediately. When I talk about *control tuning*, people can start referring to

their own or others' behaviour in relation to control situations; thus there is generalisation – an instant assimilating effect.

A grounded theory is not linked to a particular unit, time or place, and consequently the theory does not grow old: its general implications can be seen everywhere at any time. The theory itself can go on forever, as it is not merely a description of a particular group, place and time but rather of a behaviour that can be found in the decades to come. In addition, from a researcher's perspective, doing grounded theory is wonderful, as one can use data from years back without the data somehow having "expired" and lost its significance. For example, my data on southern Sudanese migration, which led to explaining the main concern for participants through the grounded theory process, are topical for generating a theory irrespective of whether the data were collected two months, two years or two decades ago. There is always the possibility of developing the theory further with more recent data, as grounded theory is modifiable. The justification for and legitimacy of a grounded theory are also found in its product – the new theory – and in its roots. This product often contributes to the academic literature in significant ways. Nevertheless, grounded theory is one methodology among many others. However, it suits researchers who are interested in understanding what is really going on in a substantive area of life and who are interested in conceptualising and theorising. Its validity arises through conceptual generality, not unit generality.

2.3. Grounded theory and qualitative data analysis: conceptualisation versus description

Unlike qualitative data analysis (QDA), where description is the aim, conceptualisation is at the centre of the methodology of grounded theory. As defined by Glaser (2002: 23), grounded theory is the generation of emergent conceptualisations into integrated patterns, which are denoted by categories and their properties. Even though many qualitative researchers consider grounded theory to be a qualitative method, in reality this is not the case. As a methodology, grounded theory stands firmly on its own. Even though grounded theory is very powerful in explaining behavioural patterns, it should not be considered better or worse than qualitative or quantitative

methodology; rather, it is simply another way of doing research. We geographers and social scientists have often received an education that emphasises either qualitative or quantitative methodology and methods. Moreover, the trend towards using mixed methods is also becoming stronger. However, the term mixed methods is normally used to signify a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, rather than, for example, grounded theory. Furthermore, thesis supervisors, grant committees and dissertation committees often expect students and researchers to produce research plans and pieces of research that follow the norms of the methodological education provided at their university. Consequently, verification, use of extant theories and positivistic ideas are some of the frameworks that students and researchers are often expected to adopt. As grounded theory is commonly confused with qualitative data analysis in social research, I will shortly explain the differences between these two approaches, while simultaneously demonstrating how grounded theory deserves to be considered an autonomous methodology.

Conceptualisation is the core process of grounded theory. As Glaser (2001: 9) states:

> Through conceptualization GT [grounded theory] is a general method that cuts across data methods (experiment, survey, content analysis, and all qualitative methods) and uses all data resulting therefrom. Because of conceptualization, GT transcends all descriptive methods and their associated problems, especially what is an accurate fact and what is interpretation.

The main properties of conceptualisation for grounded theory are the abstraction of time, people and place, as well as concepts having enduring grab. In QDA the common approach is to describe people, time and place with accuracy, context and interpretation. From the grounded theory perspective, without the abstraction of people, place and time, there can be no multivariate, integrated theory based on hypothetical relationships. Grounded theory does not generalise from the unit under study to a larger unit or a similar unit, as can be done in QDA. Rather, grounded theory generalises to a transcending process or other form of core variable, and it may relate seemingly disparate

units to each other through an underlying process. In grounded theory people are not categorised, but behaviour is. Thus, even though I collected the data among particular people (those related mainly to South Sudanese migration), in particular places (e.g. in Khartoum and Kampala) and at a particular time (2005–2006), in grounded theory these particular units lose their importance, as the theory operates at a conceptual level. Thus, what is important for the Theory of Control Tuning is the behavioural pattern of *control tuning*. Glaser (2012) claims that, as he and Strauss demonstrated in their research on awareness of dying (Glaser & Strauss 1965), research participants have multiple perspectives, which have varying significance for their actions. These multiple perspectives are then raised by a researcher to the abstract level of conceptualisation in order to reveal the underlying or latent pattern.

The concepts generated in grounded theory studies are thus timeless in their applicability. Indeed, these concepts may actually last longer than any of the hypotheses from which they were initially generated (Glaser 2001: 9–15). As concepts are central to the new theory, a great deal of thought is invested in naming them in such a way that they explain the nature of the categories, dimensions and properties and that they have fit and enduring grab. The pattern is named by continuously attempting to find words that best capture its meaning. This constant fitting leads to the best-fit name for a pattern, category or property of a category. After much fitting, validity is achieved when the selected name is the best one to represent the pattern. The pattern is valid, as it is grounded in the data (Glaser 2002: 24). The concepts that explain the pattern can instantly lead people to recognise aspects of society or their own life. Concepts have a meaning, and they can become part of colloquial conversations and academic discussions. A pattern emerges from many incidents and through careful coding and conceptual saturation.

Unlike QDA, grounded theory research requires the researcher to have the ability to conceptualise and to see relationships between categories, dimensions and the properties of behavioural patterns. In grounded theory, concepts are not conjectured or logically deduced, as this would cause them to be too abstract and irrelevant to the social world they are attempting to explain. Instead, grounded theory concepts have fit, relevance and workability. However, even for grounded theorists, it can be challenging to stay at the conceptual level; if the grounded theory procedure is not properly followed, the drift into description is ever present.

QDA researchers often wish to give a voice to their participants. However, in grounded theory, the aim is not to highlight participants' words or opinions but rather to explain the pattern of behaviour that is important to them and to demonstrate how they resolve their concern. A researcher can have abundant data of which the participants may not be empirically aware in their own life. Moreover, participants may be unaware of their own behaviour as explained by the grounded theory. Thus, grounded theory reveals patterns that participants do not understand or of which they are unaware (ibid: 25) (for more on the differences between QDA and GT, see Glaser 2003).

2.4. Theoretical sensitivity

Theoretical sensitivity refers to the ability of a researcher to generate concepts from data and relate them to each other in order to form a theory. For this, some essential characteristics are required of a researcher, although s/he can also work on and enhance them during the theory development process. These characteristics consist of the personal temperament to maintain analytical distance and tolerate confusion and regression, the ability to remain open during the process, trust in preconscious processing and the belief that there will be conceptual emergence. In addition, s/he must have the ability to develop theoretical insight into an area of research and be able to make something of these insights. Moreover, the ability to conceptualise and organise, make abstract connections and visualise and think in multiple ways is also important. It is rare that researchers lack the above-mentioned abilities to such a degree that they are unable to develop a grounded theory. However, extremely descriptive researchers who are accustomed to conducting qualitative data analysis and who lack strong theorising skills may take longer to work out how to do grounded theory than researchers who are used to conceptualising and seeing theoretical connections in the data. Furthermore, the traditions of the researcher's discipline and his/her academic supervisors' unfamiliarity with grounded theory methodology may hinder the improvement of a researcher's theoretical skills through demands to conduct research in a similar manner to, say, qualitative data analysis.

When aiming to enhance one's theoretical sensitivity, it is important to understand that doing grounded theory can be a long process which requires theoretical pacing. As Glaser puts it:

> Generating grounded theory *takes time*. It is above all a *delayed action* phenomenon. Little increments in coding, analyzing and collecting data cook and mature then to blossom later into theoretical memos. Significant theoretical realizations come with growth and maturity in the data, and much of this is outside the analyst's awareness until it happens. Thus the analyst must pace his patience, and not just be patient, accepting nothing until something happens, as it surely does. It is therefore vital that the analyst learn to take the quality and kind of time it takes to do the discovery process, and that he learn to take this time in a manner consistant (sic) with his own temporal nature as an analyst. (Glaser 1978: 18)

2.5. Substantive or formal theory

Grounded theory is a middle-range theory positioned between descriptive practical data and formal theories. When grounded theory is generated from a specific area (like e.g. rural seasonal migration), the theory is substantive. When the researcher later turns to an investigation of a concept in its full generality, for example the concept of *control tuning*, grounded theory refers to formal theory, where the concept can be connected with everyday life of any nature. For instance, *control tuning* can be seen to be part not only of migration but of various other spheres of life, such as school teaching, starting a business or the work of medical doctors in hospitals. A middle ground between substantive and formal theory is occupied by so-called general substantive theory, which is more general than substantive theory but not fully generalisable like formal theory (Glaser 1978: 52). Due to the Theory of Control Tuning's coverage of a variety of migration types, actors and issues, its scope in terms of data and the number of concepts that emerged from the study, I classify the theory as a general substantive theory. Substantive grounded theories can be generated with only 10–12 interviews, and they often have 10–15 codes (ibid: 52, 71). The theory of Control Tuning is directly based on 83 interviews in four countries and several regions. In addition, I have also

used participant observation, photographing and secondary data. Moreover, the Theory has been influenced by a large number of other interviews and discussions with different migration actors in relation not only to issues that arose in the study's main fieldwork but also in connection to other types of migration actors and migration movements. The theory includes a core category, four sub-core categories, 18 main categories and several properties, as well as the various control-tuning causes, strategies, outcomes, intervening factors and conditions that form control-tuning paths. The theory concerns migration covering several geographical regions, levels and types (such as urban, rural, internal and international related migration caused by such factors as conflict, employment and education), micro, meso and macro levels of information, and migration actors such as authorities, local residents and migrants. Furthermore, data which do not directly concern migration but which indicate general political decision-making, education and schooling-related behaviour, as well as non-migrant-linked spatial behaviour, have been used to understand *control tuning*. Many of these issues are normally researched on their own; thus the Theory of Control Tuning is able to tie together a great number of issues, events, situations, environments, characteristics and actors. For these reasons, the Theory of Control Tuning is more general than a substantive theory but not yet as general as a formal theory.

2.6. The steps of generating a grounded theory

Next, I turn to an explanation of how I chose the methodology of grounded theory and how I used it during the research process for generating the Theory of Control Tuning. I describe how I began the research and explain the importance of theoretical sampling in theory development. Here, I introduce my mode of data collection: interviews, participant observation and other methods, as well as the role of secondary data. Constant comparison, coding, memoing, sorting and theoretical coding are at the centre of grounded theory methodology; thus they were crucial to the emergence of the Theory of Control Tuning. I also discuss writing up the new theory and the use of the extant literature.

2.6.1. Choosing the methodology of grounded theory

As was previously mentioned, the methodology of grounded theory does not belong to any particular epistemological or ontological perspective but rather functions as an overall methodology that can be used with either qualitative or quantitative data. Grounded theory offers a way to view the experience and behaviour of human beings. Grounded theory is a complex and multivariate methodology that requires a lot from a researcher; so why did I choose it? First, because there is general recognition that migration research into social phenomena lacks up-to-date theories and, second, because the extant theories and concepts do not always fully connect with the data. I wanted to close that gap between empirical data and theory by generating a new theory rather than verifying an extant one. I wished to develop a new theory which would explain migration from a novel perspective and combine many of the issues that are normally studied separately, and to provide the academic world with a new theory on migration that could, through conceptualisation, promote our understanding of migration.

I had previously used the Strauss and Corbin version of grounded theory in my Master's thesis on Mexican migration. Though my Master's research was successful in many ways, when I began my PhD research, I felt the Strauss and Corbin version of grounded theory failed to allow sufficient freedom to work with the data and that I had not, in fact, developed a decent theory in my Master's research. Thus, I began to seek a solution to this problem and read more about Glaser's method of doing classic grounded theory. I came to see that the methodology of Glaserian grounded theory provided greater opportunities to create a better and more meaningful grounded theory on migration. It took time to understand the whole procedure for carrying out classic grounded theory, especially when at the beginning of the research I found myself working minus-mentor, which means I knew no one else doing grounded theory and no mentoring was available from someone who had personally utilised the methodology. Thus, the ability to participate in grounded theory seminars organised by Dr Glaser and the Grounded Theory Institute was extremely important. Moreover, as is often the case with novices to the method, learning was only possible through actually doing grounded theory, not by simply reading about it. Only with time and practice (as well as with some trial and error), was I able to become more adept at using the

methodology of classic grounded theory; thus I recognise the benefits of continuing to use the methodology in the future.

2.6.2. Beginning the research and the use of data

In grounded theory research, a researcher should gather data with an open mind and the minimum of preconceptions. We all have ideas and perspectives connected to our professional and personal background; thus remaining open and sensitive to discovering the main concern of study participants refers not to forgetting our background but rather to recognising it and not letting it lead the research process. Consequently, when I began to collect data, I had no preconceived hypothesis or extant theory, nor did I carry out an extensive literature review beforehand in order to absorb the current academic trends or interests in geography or migration studies. When I began the research, and before leaving for the field, I had no idea that the new theory would be about control. Nor did I know that issues like coping in spaces and places, encounters between authorities, migrants and local residents, dealing with knowledge, and keeping in contact with others would be the issues deserving acceptance into the new theory. At the time of conducting my main fieldwork, issues like migrant identity, livelihood and networks were popular research topics explored by others.

In order to follow the grounded theory procedure, I bypassed the initial literature review in order to avoid it directing my own research. Moreover, I did my best to ignore the knowledge I had of extant theories, data and the research interests of others. Performing an extensive literature review before the emergence of a core category and the main concern of the people under study contradicts the basic premise of grounded theory, as it may lead to the new theory emerging from extant scientific ideas and data central to prior research conducted by others. Moreover, reading the literature may cause researchers to focus on issues that are peripheral to their research and have little or no connection with the main concern of their research participants, leading to a great deal of wasted time. The methodology of grounded theory treats the literature, as Glaser explains (Glaser & Holton 2004), as "another source of data to be integrated into the constant comparative analysis process once the core category, its properties and related categories have emerged and the basic conceptual development is well underway". Thus, as I followed the

methodology, I was unaware of what literature to read before I knew the focus of the new theory, in other words before the core category, sub-core categories, categories and properties and their relationships had emerged. The emergent theory took me into less familiar disciplines and fields of study.

During development of the theory, I kept in mind that in grounded theory all is data. Thus, the researcher can use any data, irrespective of whether it is qualitative, quantitative or a mix of the two. Sources of data can include, for instance, interviews, observations, photographs, surveys and secondary data – whatever the researcher considers useful in the substantive area of research. Moreover, in contrast to qualitative data analysis, where objectivity and accuracy are praised, in grounded theory a researcher's own ideas, experiences and biases can be used as data. If such data are significant for the new theory, the data earn a place in the theory during the constant comparative analysis. There is no need to strive for objectivity in its traditional meaning, where researchers omit their own experiences or perspectives from the data. Thus, as everything is data, I could include my own insights as an element of the theory. This occurred through memoing and through my insights gaining relevance in the new theory's categories, properties and hypotheses. Consequently, the insights and opinions of those under study are not the only insights researchers can include in a theory; however, they must be open-minded and not force the data and their biases and insights into the new theory. In addition, existing theories can also become part of the new theory. In grounded theory, existing theories are considered to strengthen the new theory, so there is no need to ignore them or accept them without challenge. Through constant comparison and memoing, other theories can be included as data in the new grounded theory.

There are several types of data that Glaser (1998: 9) identifies: baseline, properline, interpreted and vaguing out data. Baseline data is the best description a participant can offer. Properline data is what participants think is proper to tell the researcher. It is what they feel they are supposed to say, regardless of the reality of the situation. In turn, interpreted data come from trained professionals who want to ensure that the data are seen from the perspective of their profession, even if this alters the normal way of seeing the data. Finally, vaguing out data refers to the type of data provided by a participant who might tell the researcher anything whatsoever, irrespective of its veracity. In my research all these data types appeared when I collected data.

Baseline and interpreted data played the greatest role, but some cases of obvious properline data and vaguing out data also arose. Face sheet variables like age, ethnicity, religion and sex do not automatically qualify as part of the theory. They must earn their way into the theory through categories, properties and dimensions that have fit, relevance and workability. While doing grounded theory, there is a need to understand the type of data one is using and whether it has importance in the new theory. Moreover, a wide range of data increases the potential to develop a multivariate theory.

2.6.3. Theoretical sampling

> Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by emerging theory, whether substantive or formal. . . . The initial decisions are not based on a preconceived theoretical framework. . . . The analyst can continually adjust his control of data collection to ensure the data's relevance to the impersonal criteria of his emerging theory. (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 45, 48)

As Glaser (1998: 157) states, theoretical sampling is "both directed by the emerging theory and it directs its further emergence. It is the 'where next' in collecting data, the 'for what' according to codes, and the 'why' from the analysis in memos".

For me one of the most important aspects of theoretical sampling is the selection of the groups the researcher must work with in order to collect the data on which the new theory is based. To guarantee a good population scope, conceptual depth and the maximisation and minimisation of differences and similarities between data (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 55–58), I chose to include various groups in my research. Including participants with different backgrounds and experiences related to migration helped me better generate categories and properties and relate categories to each other and their properties. For my research, I selected groups that were part of migration – some were directly participating in migration movements as migrants, some were participating through their work, as was the case with many of the

authorities, and some, such as local residents, were part of migration through being in interaction with migrants and living in areas where migration occurred. Within these groups, the participants also varied in terms of, for example, place of residence, ethnicity, gender and age.

According to Glaser and Strauss (ibid: 62), saturation (which means that no additional data are found through which the researcher can develop the properties of categories) cannot be attained by studying one incident in one group. If the researcher studies just one group, it results, at best, in the discovery of some basic categories and some of their properties. As theoretical sampling is performed to reveal categories and their properties and to suggest their interrelationships in a theory, a good selection of comparison groups is essential. Normally in grounded theory studies one group is the main group that is compared with other groups. As Glaser and Strauss state, "group comparisons are conceptual, they are made by comparing diverse or similar evidence indicating the same conceptual categories and properties" (ibid: 49).

However, as in this study one of the aims is to understand the common main concern of various actors in migration, I adopted a more experimental approach to what is a comparison group in addition to it being conceptual. I started by comparing several migration actor groups and looked for the common main concern and behaviour of these groups. During the analysis both the similar and different behaviour of actors assisted me to understand what is common for different groups and this allowed me to group them as a single group of migration actors. Conceptual comparison groups can be studied individually or a number of them can be studied simultaneously. As for me different groups of migration actors also represented comparison groups, I chose to study these groups simultaneously, as this served the purpose of the study the best and it was also the best practical solution for agreeing on meetings and interviews in the same geographical areas. I studied also the conceptual comparison groups simultaneously.

The migration actor groups for comparison used in this research include:

1) Men, women and children (of different ages, religions, ethnic groups etc.);
2) Migrants from different migration backgrounds and statuses (internally displaced people, asylum seekers, recognised refugees,

resettled quota refugees, economic and education-induced migrants, different nationalities, migrants of different ethnic groups etc.);

3) Migrants from different areas, such as various countries, municipalities/cities/rural areas, migrants (especially refugees and internally displaced people) living in camps/migrants living in slums and in regular housing;
4) Different migration-related actors, such as migrants, local residents (men, women, youth) and authorities (from NGOs, states, intergovernmental agencies etc.), living and working in distinct environments and with various backgrounds;
5) Migration actors related to South Sudanese migration, migration actors other than those connected to South Sudanese migration

These groups and the individuals belonging to these groups were not chosen in advance; rather they were selected in the field as the research process progressed. If the differences and similarities between these groups were significant, they earned their way into the theory. For example, I did not automatically accept gender and age to be important factors in the new theory, even though they worked as criteria for selecting groups and individuals for data collection. Nevertheless, by including them through conceptual comparison groups, they earned their way into the theory by being significant in a particular category and property. The importance of gender and age is obvious, for example, in the dimension of *establishing a new normal* and its property of *family-role adjusting*. The differences and similarities between the migration actor groups became obvious in conceptualisation and in the new theory.

In addition, different sources of data promote the depth of the new theory. Diverse data includes more aspects of the substantive area and therefore helps the researcher cope with more diversity in conditions and with exceptions to hypotheses. Thus, I used several sources of data, including interviews, participant observation, discussions, maps, statistics, documents, photographs and the literature, which I obtained from different geographical areas and various sources.

I have used more data than are often used for generating a grounded theory study. As previously mentioned, according to Glaser, a grounded theory can be based on as few as ten interviews. Later in this section, I explain the

practical and theoretical reasons for choosing to include such variety and breadth of data, which I believe has promoted the scope and depth of the Theory of Control Tuning. Moreover, using the methodology of grounded theory while collecting data from several geographical areas, and especially in relation to conflict-induced migration, created some difficulties in using the methodology as expressed by Glaser. I was required to take into consideration several issues related to challenging data collection in a sensitive environment – something which would not have arisen if I had conducted grounded theory research in a peaceful local office setting. These considerations were:

1) The need to collect data from various migration-related areas with distinct cultures, traditions, societies and politics to understand how the participants dealt with their main concern in various types of migrations and geographical environments;
2) The need to collect data among migrants with various statuses, authorities and local residents – participant groups who were living in various types of spaces and places and whose backgrounds and ongoing situations displayed great diversity;
3) The need to collect data for other purposes than grounded theory research;
4) Financial and time-related issues of working in four countries in two continents and in several rural and urban areas, often with long distances between them;
5) Working with fearful people traumatised by their experiences of conflict, violence and other daily challenges;
6) Security threats to migrants arising from sharing extremely sensitive data with me and travelling to our meeting places;
7) Security issues related to myself as a researcher and a (young European) woman;
8) Practical issues such as lack of electricity, challenges in logistics, daily disruptions to data collection from outsiders and potential interviewees' level of interest in participating in the research

For these reasons, I needed to modify the use of some aspects of grounded theory methodology. These modifications were relatively small and involved, for instance, considering whether recording interviews was the best approach

or how collecting more data than are usual in grounded theory research affected emergence of the theory.

2.6.4. Data collection with qualitative methods

> [A]ctually generating theory at the moment of collecting data is never easy; usually it takes reflection afterward to discover what one has found. (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 72)

The Theory of Control Tuning is based on primary data on South Sudanese migration, which I gathered in four countries and 15 areas, mainly in 2005–2006. These countries are Sudan (before the creation of the independent state of South Sudan), Egypt, Uganda and Finland. The 15 areas within these countries included internal displacement camps, refugee settlements/camps, border areas, rural areas, towns and cities. In addition, data from Syria and Lebanon form part of this research, as some interviewees had resided in or transited through these countries. The data include both internal and international movements. These movements occurred not only within and between countries and areas of origin, transit, asylum, return and resettlement but also within and between destination areas and countries for education and employment. Such movements include moving from rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban, urban to rural and combinations of the above. During the primary fieldwork in Finland, Egypt, Uganda and Sudan, I also interviewed other migrants than those from South Sudan to understand if they shared the same main concern. In addition, for comparison at the later stage of theory development I used interviews and discussions with migrants, authorities and local residents in Malta, the United States, Turkey and England. This was to see how the Theory of Control Tuning related to migration in other geographical areas and social circumstances than those of South Sudanese migration.

The Theory of Control Tuning is directly grounded in 83 interviews which included 110 interviewees (appendix 1), though it is also influenced by a larger interview dataset, which I collected for other research purposes. The number of interviews is greater than in many grounded theories. However, as I was collecting the data from four very different countries and in several distinct areas, I considered it crucial to interview a larger number of people in order to

better understand the social, geographical, political and economic circumstances of those places and areas. As my aim was to examine migration as a larger entity and combine distinct migration types, actors and issues under one theory in order to see the overall pattern of behaviour, I feel the larger dataset is justifiable. If, for example, I had only collected data in Finland (my native country), this kind of supporting information on particular geographical and social circumstances would have been unnecessary.

In addition to interviews, the theory is based on a great number of discussions with different migration actors as well as on participant observation data. Interviews, discussions and participant observation data include actors such as internally displaced persons, asylum seekers, recognised refugees, resettled quota refugees and economic and education-induced migrants, authority representatives from international and non-governmental organisations, religious entities, migrant communities, municipalities and states, and local residents from migration areas of origin, asylum, transit, resettlement and destination. The number of interviews and discussions was directed by the methodology of grounded theory; thus no decision had been made on the number of interviews my grounded theory research would contain before I began the fieldwork. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the number of interviews was also driven by the need to understand an unfamiliar area. There are several reasons why this research is based on primary data and not on purely secondary data. First, as a researcher, my personal strength is dealing with people in the field in challenging circumstances. I am very skilful at discovering sensitive or hidden issues to which others have no access. I also enjoy observing situations and environments. Due to my experience in distinct cultural, political, security-related and physical environments in Africa, Asia, Oceania, Latin America, North America, Europe and elsewhere, I am able to see and understand issues in an effective way. Another reason for basing this research on primary data was my interest in understanding the main concern of migration actors in relation to South Sudanese migration, and at the time of beginning this research there was little secondary data on the topic. Even though South Sudanese migration had occurred for decades due to civil war, and the area also had a long tradition of economic and education-based migration, it was not easy to find the relevant data. Moreover, at the time of my fieldwork, this topic was relatively unknown among people in Finland.

2.6.4.1. Interviews

> Interviewing in geography is so much more than "having a chat". Successful interviewing requires careful planning and detailed preparation. (Dunn 2010: 101)

As a research method, interviewing is commonly used in geography, the social sciences and migration research (see e.g. Cornwell 1988; Baker 1997; Holstein & Gubrium 1997; Miller & Glassner 1997; Robinson 1998; Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2009; Dunn 2010; Secor 2010; Sánchez-Ayala 2012). Interviewing allows a researcher to obtain information on a person's experiences, opinions and ways of giving meaning to different issues and events. It provides the opportunity for a researcher and the informant to meet, discuss and share. In this research, I primarily conducted interviews mainly face-to-face, but for mapping the background of the research topic at the beginning of the study, I also used email for interviewing, data collection and agreeing with people in several countries on the practical arrangements of interviews. At times, organising interviews was extremely challenging because of conflict situations and poor infrastructure. In particular, those individuals who would helped me organise interviews in South Sudan or other African countries were often unreachable by email or telephone. At the time of my research, satellite phones and mobile phones were not widely in use in South Sudan; thus calling the area was challenging. Moreover, email was not an effective means of communication in all the fieldwork areas in Africa, as there was no internet connection. In Finland, using email for data collection was easier because of better infrastructure and because authorities answered their email messages.

I chose to begin the fieldwork from Finland, as I resided and had connections there. This not only allowed me to gain a picture of South Sudanese migration in an easier working environment, but it also provided the opportunity to learn about the issue and collect contact information from those Sudanese migrants living in Finland for individuals in the other fieldwork countries.

I conducted the interviews in distinct places. In internal displacement (IDP) and refugee camps/settlements, I often used NGO premises in situ or outside the camp/settlement. In towns and cities I normally visited migrants in their homes or the homes of their friends. Sometimes I also interviewed

migrants in the premises of NGOs or other organisations in urban centres. In turn, I commonly met local residents and other migrants than South Sudanese in their flats or houses or in a public place. By contrast, in most cases I conducted authority interviews in staff offices. When migrant interviews occurred outside a person's place of residence, I ensured the location was as secure, easy accessible and peaceful as possible. In practice, this meant that such interviews were conducted in day-light so that, for example, women would not have to walk or travel through dangerous areas in darkness. In addition, when I used the premises of organisations, I strove to find a location free of unnecessary people. Those present at the interviews were the interviewer (the author of this study), the interviewee(s) and, when needed, an interpreter. On a few occasions, some other people were present prior to the interview, but they were asked to leave in order to allow the interviewee to speak freely. On two separate occasions, husbands refused to leave the room when I interviewed their wives. As on both occasions it suited the wife that her husband remained, he stayed in the room and listened to the interview. After realising my questions were harmless, one husband nevertheless left the room completely, while the other left the room for a period of time. After interviewing the woman, I also took the opportunity to interview her husband, which in both cases was appreciated by the husband, as his voice was also heard.

As conflict-induced migration is a particularly sensitive issue, especially for migrants, at the beginning of each interview I tried to make the interviewee as comfortable as possible. As the interviewees were often a little nervous about the situation because they had no idea what I was going to ask them, I would, after a formal introduction, commonly begin discussing something unconnected to my questions on migration. I sometimes told them a few words about myself and my family and, for example, how I had reached the place. If I was asked about my personal life or my views and advice, I would usually share them with the interviewees. However, I intentionally avoided some topics, mainly my opinions on religion and politics, as I knew our possible differences in opinions may have led to difficulties in the interviews. In addition to understanding what the interviewees said, I also needed to interpret their body language, emotions and behaviour. There were some occasions when interviewees performed a dance or a song during the interview. My interviews with migrants often differed markedly from the

authority interviews or local resident interviews. The authority interviews, in particular, were more formal, and there was a greater need to present myself as an expert in my field. Furthermore, it was important to allow the authorities to present themselves as experts in their field. With local residents, the interviews were influenced more by the location and context in which they took place.

After an initial chat with the migrant interviewees, I began the interview by explaining my reason for conducting the interviews and that they were on a purely voluntary basis and could be interrupted if the interviewee so wished. At the beginning, I asked easy questions concerning, for example, age, ethnicity and place of origin. Such questions were not particularly crucial for the research, but they allowed the interviewees to start replying to my questions. In the quotation cited above, Dunn claims that, in geography, interviewing requires a great deal of planning. However, in grounded theory research, this is not true as such; rather, in order to ask the right questions, what is required from the researcher is an understanding of the concerns of the interviewees and the need for a new grounded theory. To allow interviewees to freely express their concerns or what they see as important, and for the researcher to reveal their main concern, open-ended interviews and informal discussions are the most useful method for grounded theory research. To reveal migration actors' experience and opinion on migration issues, my initial main question was "Can you please tell me about your migration experiences?". This question was designed to "instil a spill", that is to give the interviewees a chance to talk about anything they wanted, thereby allowing me to see what was important to them. This question was then followed by more specific questions when, for instance, I needed to clarify what the interviewee was saying. Later, as the analysis progressed, I asked more questions about specific issues which the analysis suggested were important for the interviewees and the emerging theory. By contrast, in order to understand, for example, policy issues and authority-related practical matters in a particular area, the authority interviews used semi-structured or structured questions. However, as the authorities are also migration actors, I ensured that they too had the possibility of freely stating what they considered important. Therefore, I also used open-ended questions with the authorities. In turn, interviews with local residents followed the structure which best suited the situation. At the end of an interview, I always gave the interviewees

the chance to add anything else they considered important or ask me if they had any questions. This sometimes led to a fascinating discussion of topics that had not been mentioned earlier in the interview. It also enabled me to give something back to the interviewees when they needed my opinion or knowledge on some practical issue, such as children's schooling or how to apply for a job. The interviews were conducted in different languages. I used Finnish, English, Swedish, Spanish and my limited Arabic directly with interviewees. However, for Arabic, Juba-Arabic and Sudanese ethnic languages I also used several interpreters. The interviews took an average of 1.5 hours, but the time ranged from about 30 minutes to 3 hours. The discussion often continued with some interviewees while I was conducting participant observation in other surroundings.

The selection of interpreters occurred through people I knew from my previous work and connections. In places where I had no connections, I asked for recommendations from universities, NGOs, associations and migrants working with migrants. In all the fieldwork sites where I used an interpreter, I first interviewed the interpreter. This allowed me to ascertain whether the person had sufficient language skills and understanding to act as an interpreter. Moreover, this allowed the interpreters to ask me if there was something they did not understand about my questions, the issues involved or in the way they should interpret. This also provided me with an opportunity to ask the interpreter about the local migration environment and gain extremely valuable information both as data and as assistance for my interviews. None of the interpreters were formally educated as interpreters. However, some had previous experience of interpreting in migration circumstances, for instance for the UNHCR or IOM. All but one of the interpreters had personal experience of migration.

I performed the selection of migrant interviewees in different ways: I asked the interpreters to ask suitable people if I could interview them; I gave instructions on the type of people the interpreter should ask for interviews; and, at the end of an interview, I also asked the interviewees if they knew others who would be interested in sharing their story and migration experience with me. Thus, I used the so-called snowball method (see e.g. Biernacki & Waldorf 1981; Noy 2008; Sulaiman-Hill & Thompson 2011; Sánchez-Ayala 2012: 219). I also found interviewees simply by talking to people on the street or at universities or organisations. In addition, some

organisations working with migrants asked people if they wanted to be interviewed. In turn, I organised authority interviews by contacting state, municipal, organisation, religious and migrant council leaders and staff directly. Sometimes, the authorities would also recommend other people working in my area of interest for interviews. Local residents were the most difficult group to find for interview. To recruit these participants, I asked people working with migrants if they knew any possible interviewees. I also informed locals about the interviews by, for example, placing an advertisement on a shop notice board. In addition, I took the opportunity to discuss migration-related issues with locals when I interacted with them in other matters. Some local residents who were ready to participate in the interviews contacted me, but presumably from fear of saying their opinions aloud, later cancelled their interview. In turn, I found migrants from other countries than South Sudan through the places in which I spent time and by talking to people in various situations. There were several occasions where I had an unexpected chance to interview migration actors. For example, in one of the refugee settlements migrants assembled spontaneously when they heard that I was visiting, as they wanted to share their views with me. In one refugee camp, I once had a queue of people wanting to be interviewed. I soon discovered that these people had heard a rumour that I was conducting interviews to select people for resettlement in Europe. I explained the situation to them and told them that they were welcome to come for an interview, which I was carrying out purely for research purposes. In addition, some authorities working in challenging situations had not given interviews to any other researchers or media representatives, but they wanted to be interviewed by me. This was the case, for instance, in relation to a migrants' sit-in in Cairo, which also received global media attention. I believe combining different ways of contacting people for interview guaranteed richer data for theory development.

In the methodology of grounded theory, recording is discouraged. However, this was one guideline that I did not fully follow in my research. In Glaser's view, taping interviews is unnecessary, as grounded theory does not require descriptive completeness; taping also affects the delimiting effect of grounded theory and leads to a longer process of research (Glaser 1998: 107–113). I fully understand his arguments, but I also believe that recording is necessary in some cases. In my Master's thesis, I followed this guideline and, instead, took field notes immediately after the interviews. However, in my

doctoral research I chose to record most of the interviews. As the fieldwork was sometimes conducted in extremely dangerous and confrontational circumstances, there were many reasons for my decision on taping. These included authority and migrant interventions during interviews and observations, sudden changes in the interview and observation environments, and my own mental and physical-health challenges and those of the interpreters and the interviewees. Researchers are sometimes reluctant to record interviews because they believe that the recorder and recording may influence what people say. In my experience, this is not the case with migrant interviews. The recorder was soon forgotten by the interviewees, and it seemed to have no effect on what they said. In fact, I noticed that making notes on paper created more suspicion during migrant interviews than having a recorder on the table. Taping interviews allowed me to fully concentrate on the interviewee, who was often describing extremely personal and horrific experiences of murder, rape, torture and other negative events. As a researcher, I needed to have the possibility of maintaining constant eye contact with the interviewees and reacting to what they said without having to take time to put my notes away. In these types of interviews, making field notes during interviews would have had a negative effect on showing the necessary level of empathy, especially during the migrants' stories. Instead, I wrote field notes on these interviews based on the tapes later on. In addition, for practical reasons, such as migrants coming to interviews on foot or travelling from far away and their need, for security reasons, to return home during the daytime, it was often necessary to conduct several consecutive interviews without the possibility of immediately making notes on paper; rather, I needed to tape my ideas and opinions quickly. Therefore, taping proved a better method in these instances. When the topic of grounded theory research is less sensitive and when practical circumstances are less challenging, I believe it is appropriate to take field notes during interviews, as this also quickens the research process.

When I interviewed the authorities working for employers such as a state, a municipality or an organisation, however, the situation was different. I also taped many of these interviews, but in addition I wrote field notes. Moreover, in some situations, such as visiting embassies or security personnel, it was impossible to bring a recorder with me. The authorities were also more cautious about talking while the recorder was on; thus in some interviews it was more appropriate to write field notes directly. In addition, I conducted

fieldwork in different continents, countries and regions, knowing that for financial and time-related reasons there would be no possibility of later collecting this type of data. Therefore, I had decided that, in addition to my grounded theory research, I wanted to collect material for other more descriptive research. Thus, taping also served this purpose. Collecting data for two purposes did somewhat complicate the data collection and analysis, but as everything is data in grounded theory, I think it also strengthened my knowledge and conceptualisation when I asked questions on other matters from migration actors.

Before the conducting the fieldwork, I had expected more difficulties in finding interviewees, in gaining access to the authorities and in discussing extremely difficult questions of personal conflict and migration experiences. Indeed, the interpreters assisting me in finding interviewees sometimes struggled to convince people of the reasons for my interviews. However, to my surprise, migrants shared extremely traumatic experiences with me. In relation to migration issues, I nevertheless had to remember that all the migrants were not necessarily telling the truth about their life. Even though I had explained the purpose of my interview, on some occasions I thought the story was more properline than baseline. This was probably because the interviewee considered the interview might somehow increase his/her chances of being accepted for resettlement or to escaping a difficult situation. Telling a properline story could also have been motivated by fear of information spreading to other people. There were three occasions when I suspected that the story was properline and thus followed the account given to the UNHCR for status determination rather than being completely in line with reality. In one case, when leaving a migrant's home after an extremely welcoming visit and a two-hour interview, the migrant informed me directly that he had not quite told the real story. These three interviewees gave me interesting material on why I had received properline data rather than the true story, and I added this to the memos and included it in the analysis. In general, the interviewees seemed positive towards the interview. Many interviewees felt that someone outside their family and community was finally interested in listening to what had happened to them. They also saw the interview as a chance for the world to better understand their experiences and situation. Furthermore, many authorities seemed to appreciate my interest, as a researcher, in their work

and their being able to tell an outsider about the possible challenges of their work.

When developing a grounded theory, it is unnecessary to interview the same person many times. Instead, as the aim is to reveal the main concern of interviewees, it is possible to interview different people. This is because grounded theory is not related to the life-stories of particular individuals but rather to their main concern and pattern of behaviour. Therefore, I normally interviewed people once and then moved on to the next person. However, discussions with the same individuals did occur on several occasions.

2.6.4.2. Participant observation

> The participant observer gathers data by participating in the daily life of the group or organization he studies. He watches the people he is studying to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them. He enters into conversation with some or all participants in these situations and discovers their interpretations of the events he has observed. (Becker 1958: 652)

As a geographer, the research method of participant observation allowed me to better understand the use of space, the meaning of a place and the social relationships and issues of those significant to the research. The method also helped me gain an understanding of the particular sites and places where the phenomenon, in this *case control tuning* in migration, occurred. Kearns (2010: 242–243) states that there are three purposes of observation: counting, complementing and contextualising. In my research, participant observation both complemented and supported the interviews and contextualised a particular time and place through direct experience. Through participating in the events and everyday life of interviewees and other people of interest, I gathered new data, widened my understanding and built trust between myself and migration actors. As observation strongly depends on a researcher's social skills, fast thinking processes and the ability to see beneath the surface, it suited my skills as a researcher very well. It is difficult to describe the particular rules for participant observation, as observation situations vary greatly in relation to migration. I feel that for participant observation a researcher should be as open to new experiences and situations as possible.

The data received can then be written down as field notes or in research diaries and can greatly contribute to theory generation. As Kearns (ibid: 246) states, "participant observation for a geographer involves strategically placing oneself in situations in which systematic understanding of place are most likely to arise". Observation has sometimes been considered insufficiently scientific, and the role of the observer and his/her objectivity has been questioned (see e.g. Evans 1988). However, this is not really a problem when developing a grounded theory, as all is data, and it is acceptable to include researchers' own ideas and views and later incorporate them into the theory if they are important in the pattern that arises from the data. Thus, such ideas and views earn their way into the new theory through being included in its categories and properties. For example, my role in the field strengthened the Theory of Control Tuning's sub-core category of *encountering authority*. As a researcher, I controlled some situations, and at times this could be seen both through *control tuning* performed by the interviewees and also *control tuning* performed by myself as a researcher in the field. These experiences I memoed and included in the Theory as appropriate.

As a method, observation is often defined by the degree of observer participation, the way observers influence the setting in a place and the possible changes to their role caused by participation (see e.g. Robinson 1998: 422–424; Kearns 2010: 244–247). In my research, I openly told everyone what I was doing and why, and I participated in the activities of Sudanese communities whenever possible. For instance, I assisted in organising a memorial service related to the death of South Sudan's President, John Garang, I helped migrants complete forms requested by officials and I gave advice that helped interviewees cope with some everyday problems. This helped "break the ice" between us and also allowed me to give something back to the communities which were providing so much for my research. Those whom I observed in their daily lives had either been informed by me personally of the reason for my visit and that I was a researcher or they had heard it from others. Due to my appearance, I stood out while conducting participant observation, and it would have been impossible for me to have pretended to be part of the communities I observed, as I looked so different from everyone else. In addition, in Finland, where I looked like a resident, local residents seldom participated in the activities of Sudanese people, so blending in as a local resident of that area was not an option. Despite my obviously being an

"outsider" in the communities, migrant interviewees welcomed me and treated me with great respect. Moreover, in some fieldwork locations, local residents and other migrants saw me as a rich woman with some power and possibly a way out of a difficult situation. Very seldom did I feel unwelcome, as it is a common African custom to welcome visitors, and this was especially the case among the Sudanese, who take pride in treating guests with hospitality. Sometimes the resettled quota refugees I interviewed in Finland were surprised to learn that I was actually a Finn. This might be because many knew that I had previously worked in Egypt with Sudanese migrants and because my English does not resemble that of many other Finns. In relation to the authorities, my education, home country and previous work experience in an international organisation, academia and a Finnish ministry, meant I was accepted as equal to the staff of embassies and international organisations. Non-governmental organisations often welcomed me, as they wanted to support research on migration issues in order to increase knowledge of the Sudanese situation. Local residents in fieldwork locations in Finland accepted me as a fellow national, but sometimes felt suspicious of me due to my status as a researcher. Other foreigners living outside their native country treated me in a similar way to that of the Sudanese. In participant observation, just as in conducting interviews, it was a great advantage to have lived abroad in different continents (including Africa) and to be accustomed to dealing with a variety of people. I was very much at ease dealing with individuals with a different educational background, language, religion, gender, age, profession and so forth. I have always enjoyed changes in life, communicating in different languages, handling stressful situations and being well-organised in my work and pro-active when it comes to challenging and unknown situations; therefore conducting challenging fieldwork in relation to migration suited me well.

The fieldwork settings were either familiar, partially familiar or unknown when I first came to a particular place. I had previously spent time in some of the observation sites or I knew them, in part, from other experiences. I had worked in Egypt in two other posts and had lived in Cairo and travelled to Alexandria a number of times. However, many of the neighbourhoods where I conducted the interviews and participant observations were unfamiliar, though I knew the Egyptian way of life and how Egyptian society functioned. By contrast, I had never lived in or visited Uganda or Sudan before my

fieldwork in those two countries. Thus, the places there were initially unknown to me. However, I was somewhat familiar with the Sudanese, and especially the South Sudanese, way of dealing with others, and their cultural traditions, behaviour and languages, from my previous non-academic work among the Sudanese. Nevertheless, both interviews and participant observation were extremely important to me for gaining better knowledge and understanding of how the Sudanese handled various issues, lived their everyday life during migration and saw their situation in relation to others. Even though the Theory of Control Tuning is not linked to any particular people, as it occupies a higher level of conceptualisation, the practicalities of fieldwork required cultural knowledge and appreciation while working among particular ethnic and migrant groups.

Participant and site observation covered a great deal of situations and places. I conducted participant observation, for example, in church services, the activities of non-governmental organisations, a wedding, a women's cooking club, a sit-in in Cairo, a school class, a memorial service for South Sudan's President John Garang, during authority activities, in several refugee and IDP camps and at sporting events. The places where people lived told me a lot about their wealth or family, the social relations between migrants and the values of those living there. Observing how migrants, authorities and local residents communicated or behaved with each other also revealed important information for the Theory of Control Tuning.

Participant observation not only includes what one sees but also what one hears, smells and feels by touch. The soundscapes in my research included, for example, a Sudanese choir singing hymns, a baby crying with hunger and authorities shouting at migrants in an unacceptable way. They also involved a busy street in Cairo with horses passing by, a call for prayer and locals selling things on the street. The textures and observations related to touch not only concerned, for instance, my learning about bad crops in a failed harvest; they also related to an authority touching black-skinned migrants to see if their skin colour was dirt or real skin. In turn, for me smells meant a better understanding of the Sudanese way of cooking, poor hygiene in a slum and air pollution in areas where migrants had to live.

2.6.4.3. Other methods of collecting data and the role of secondary data

At the beginning of my fieldwork, I asked migrant interviewees to draw their migration movement routes on a map of Sudan and its neigbouring countries or to explain the routes so I could draw them on the map. However, it soon became obvious, for two reasons that this task was rather challenging. First, many of the interviewees had problems finding places on the map, and some were unfamiliar with reading maps. Second, the interviewees' home towns and the places they had migrated through were sometimes so small that they were missing from the map, and we were forced to guess their location by their proximity to some larger settlements. Thus, I decided marking migration movements on a map was too time-consuming and challenging. However, I used extant maps to understand distances and physical and social environments. The maps of different migration countries and places were drawn for this dissertation to give the reader an understanding of the geographical dimensions, locations of fieldwork and the distances involved.

I used statistics and photographs to understand migration and space-related issues in my research area. Moreover, articles, documents and newspapers were used to support theory development. To understand places and to support my memory later on, I also took photographs while conducting fieldwork. These photos were used as part of the data through memos.

I wrote research diaries in the field to record my observations, own feelings and experiences during data collection. The topics that entered into the research diaries included events or behaviour occurring in interviews, observations from different living environments and challenges in the field. The research diary data were then coded and included in the analysis, thus becoming part of the Theory of Control Tuning. The Internet and email were used for data collection, keeping in touch and requesting information from the authorities and other people related to this research. At the end of the research, I performed a literature review on the existing academic literature in order, for example, to demonstrate the Theory of Control Tuning's position in academia.

2.6.5. Constant comparison

The constant comparative method refers to the systematic and explicit coding and analytical procedures which enable the generation of a new theory. The process includes several comparisons. First, I compared incidents to other incidents in the empirical data. As coding proceeded, I then compared incidents to existing categories; some fitted within these categories, while others formed new categories. This procedure revealed the similarities, differences and degrees of consistency of meaning between incidents, generating an underlying uniformity which in turn resulted in a coded category and the properties of categories (Glaser 1978: 62). I then strove to generate more theoretical concepts and their properties and more hypotheses on their relationships. My goal was theoretical elaboration, saturation and the verification of concepts, and the densification of concepts by developing their properties and the generation of further concepts. I also wrote memos to record my ideas on these categories, properties and hypotheses. Through this process, the core category emerged and selective coding began. Thus, coding and comparison were now performed in relation to the core category of *control tuning*. When no new categories and properties appeared and saturation was reached, I compared the categories and their properties for integration. This means that the categories and properties were related in many ways, resulting in a unified whole, and here I began to make theoretical sense of each comparison. When I reached the sorting stage, I compared different memos and the theoretical ideas they contained. Through this comparison, the framework of the Theory of Control Tuning emerged. Later on, I also used comparison when I wrote the theory by comparing the new theory and the extant literature in order to see how the Theory of Control Tuning related to the literature and vice versa. (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 105–113; Holton 2008). In the following sections, I explain in greater detail how coding, memoing, sorting and forming the new theory occurred.

2.6.6. Coding

> Coding gets the analyst off the empirical level by fracturing the data, then conceptually grouping it into codes that then become the theory which explains what is happening in the data. (Glaser 1978: 55)

A conceptual code is the essential relationship between data and theory. A grounded theory is generated by developing the hypothetical relationships between conceptual codes (that is, categories and properties), which have been generated from the data as indicators. There are two types of codes: substantive and theoretical. Substantive codes, which are "found" in data through open coding, conceptualise the empirical substance of the area of research. Then theoretical codes conceptualise how the substantive codes relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into the theory. In practice, the researcher focuses more on substantive coding when discovering codes within the data, and more on theoretical coding when theoretically sorting and integrating memos. During substantive coding, it is particularly common for the novices to the method to feel uncertain about whether they are coding correctly. Later this uncertainty dissipates when the researcher notices that codes form categories and it is possible to see relationships between categories and how categories earn their way into the new theory. As a novice to the classic grounded theory method, I also became more confident about the process of coding by doing it and trusting in the emergence of the theory.

Open coding occurs most commonly at the beginning of research, while collecting and going through the empirical data. For example, I wrote up interview data as field notes, which I then open coded, line-by-line, to identify the substantive codes emerging from the data. Open coding "runs the data open". Line-by-line coding allowed me to verify and saturate the categories and ensured that no important categories were missed. Line-by-line coding thus allowed the production a dense, rich theory and gave me the feeling that no important parts of the data had been over looked. Moreover, the methodology of grounded theory required that I did my own coding, as anyone other than the researcher doing this would lead to a lack of theoretical sensitivity and understanding of where to go next. At the beginning of open coding, I was influenced by my previous training in qualitative research. I attempted to use the widely taught and generally expected ways of transcribing data and using the computer software Atlas.fi for coding. However, I soon came to realise that this was, in many ways, a wasted effort which prevented me from properly doing grounded theory. In classic grounded theory, where the researcher's creativity is encouraged by writing by hand and independent thinking is promoted, using computer software is seen as preventing the proper development of the theory rather than supporting it. As writing field

notes contributes to bringing substantive data to the theoretical level, I soon abandoned transcription and coding software (see e.g. Glaser 2005a: 38–39 on using computer software).

I began the open coding of incidents in my field notes. When I open coded, the incidents were found in phrases, individual sentences or sequences of a few sentences. New codes first appeared in relation to practical incidents. As I continued to open code, new incidents then emerged as new codes, and some incidents fitted within the existing codes. Along the way, open coding showed me the direction I could take the research by theoretical sampling, before becoming selective and focusing on a particular problem. As coding continuously stimulates ideas, I wrote memos to capture those ideas and understand the types of categories these codes were creating. To help me remain theoretically sensitive, I asked several questions while open coding, including "what is this data a study of?", "what category does this incident indicate?", "what is actually happening in the data?", "what is the main concern of the person?", and "how is s/he trying to resolve it?" (Glaser 1978: 57). Through asking these questions and comparing incidents to incidents, incidents to existing categories and categories to categories, the number of codes began to decrease. Consequently, those codes that were insufficiently important to stand alone either earned inclusion within other categories or were omitted from the theory, as they were single cases that failed to significantly contribute to the concern of migration actors. The categories and properties related to the codes thus began to appear and reveal the main concern of migration actors. As Glaser (1998: 140) explains, constant comparison is a theoretical meaning-making activity that carefully generates the meaning of a category or property. Constant comparison corrects the impression generation of concepts, as it validates the fit in naming the category, its relevance and its workability. The interchangeability of indices in grounded theory research means that the researcher can begin coding anywhere in the field notes, as categories and properties will be generated by the patterning out and self-correcting nature of constant comparison. The constant naming and adjusting of the names of categories and their properties continues until the researcher finds the best fit name. The name must have the imagery and analytical power to earn its way into the theory (ibid: 143). The goal in open coding is to reveal the core category – that is, the most important category which links other categories together to form a theory. The core

category explains the main concern, which consistently relates to many other categories and their properties. In open coding, the researcher codes everything possible while going through the data and constantly compares the incidents, categories and properties until s/he finds the core category. When the core category emerges, the researcher begins to delimit the study by selectively coding on the core category and related categories and properties.

Thus, selective coding began when I had found the core category. At this point, open coding stopped and coding was delimited to those variables that related to the core category. By focusing on the core category and other related categories, I concentrated on the framework of the theory. I then performed selective data collection and analysis until I had sufficiently elaborated and integrated the core category, its properties and the theoretical links to other relevant categories. I then began to discover the latent pattern and relationships between categories and properties, which occurred through a smaller set of higher-level concepts. By delimiting the focus to one category as the main variable, only those categories relating to this core became part of the theory. The list of categories was continuously delimited through theoretical saturation of each category.

Like many other novices in classic grounded theory, I found open coding the first data set an uncertain process. At this stage, it is common for researchers to code in a relatively descriptive way. Consequently, the first list of open coding included 165 codes, of which 22 seemed to be categories and 143 properties. I then returned to the data to open code again, and as my skills improved and I compared incidents to each other and extant categories, the list of codes decreased. At the beginning of the research, the participants' main concern seemed to relate to the code *rumours or truth*. However, when I moved on to see if this was the possible core category, I came to realise that this was not the case. This code actually lost its importance as I advanced with the theory development, and, in the Theory of Control Tuning, issues related to rumours or truth became part of the sub-core category *link keeping* and its property of *suspicion and misunderstanding*. Thus, constant comparison proved to be an extremely important tool for avoiding becoming stuck with the first idea of a possible core category. By going through more data and performing more coding, I began to see the main concern of those I had interviewed and observed. After identifying *the processing of control* as the main concern and *control tuning* as the core category, I was left with 42

concepts under six sub-core categories. For *place coping*, which was at that time still called *experiencing place*, there were ten concepts. Through continuing the data analysis, the theory was ultimately reduced to four sub-core categories of the core category of *control tuning*, including the sub-core category of *place coping*, with six categories and 17 properties, as well as a causal family of *control-tuning paths* with 31 control-tuning causes, 27 control-tuning strategies and 22 control-tuning outcomes that are related to enhancing, rebelling against and paving the way for control.

Below, I present the field notes in relation to interviews with a resettled quota refugee, an internally displaced person and a refugee camp commander to exemplify *exiting*, a property of the category *multi routing*. In the first geographical area of data collection, I interviewed a refugee resettled in Finland. This sentence in my field notes was coded as *exiting an area* and with the property of *going downhill*: "The reason for leaving Lebanon was that for the last couple of years everything had started to go downhill; there was also a crisis in Jounis" (FN FIN R 080605/2). I later interviewed an internally displaced person in Sudan, and from this field note I coded the example section under *exiting an area*, which was under *experiencing place*: "She goes outside the camp to visit her family in other areas where there are IDP camps. She goes there to stay with her relatives like an uncle and aunt for one or two days. Then she comes back. She goes whenever she has nothing to do in the house" (FN SUD IDP 141105/1). When later performing selective coding, a field note on an interview with a refugee camp commander in Uganda included information which I also coded under *exiting an area* which was under *experiencing place*:

> The commander has been there for two months. Rhino camp was established maybe in 1994/1995 due to the heavy fighting in South Sudan. SPLA/M split into many fractions, which began fighting each other and spread war all over the South. Massive displacement to Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and Congo; that is why Rhino Camp was formed. People have been coming continuously over the past ten years. (FN UGA A 100106/2)

Later on, after more selective coding, constant comparison, memo writing and sorting, the final Theory of Control Tuning included such incidents under

the sub-core category of *place coping*, its dimension of *multi routing* and as a property of *exiting*. All these incidents showed a pattern related to control; thus the categories and properties became the context where *control tuning* occurs.

2.6.7. Memoing

Memos are the bedrock of theory generation. As Glaser (1978: 83) explains, "memos are the theorising write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding". In other words, memos capture the ideas of substantive codes and their theoretically coded connections which appear at different stages of grounded theory research. I started memoing when I began to collect data and open code, and I memoed through the whole research process until the very end of generating the new theory and writing it up. Memos record the process of grounded theory, they mature and they are sorted to the point of saturation. Memos are emergent and free of structure, and memoing is conducted in different ways. During the theory generation, I wrote hundreds of memos, from a single sentence to several pages. My memoing first concentrated more on examining the incidents and their connections while open coding, but later it focused on the theoretical ideas and interaction between different categories, which then led to theoretical coding. As the primary rule is to stop and memo whenever an idea occurs, this is what I did, even if it required rising in the middle of the night or interrupting an ongoing activity. I wrote memos on whatever came to hand, from cards and napkins to book pages and my mobile phone. This guaranteed that no thought was lost, and as memos formed a memo bank, I could return to the previous memos at any later stage of the research. Memos are the backbone of the theory, as it is memos that the researcher sorts in order to understand the connections and relationships of various categories and properties emerging from the data, which then form the theory.

2.6.8. Sorting

As memos mature, the same main concern, theoretical concepts and relationships repeatedly appear – thus, saturation and delimiting occurs. This is when sorting is required. I held two main sorting events. The first occurred

when I thought I had reached theoretical completeness; however, during sorting I came to realise that this was not the case. Thus, I returned to the data and to writing more memos. The second time I sorted the memos, the pattern of *control tuning* as a causal family emerged, and I gained a clearer understanding of how the different sub-core categories, categories and properties occurred as a behavioural arena. Some changes still took place, however, including modifications to the names of categories. Moreover, memos expressing concepts and connections related to employment, which had earlier been difficult to place in my theoretical thoughts, now moved, through sorting, to the category of *facing difficulties*, which was renamed *problem confronting*. Furthermore, employment-related memos, which I now termed *self sustaining*, became a property of *problem confronting* which fitted the theory nicely.

A memo (170714) written during sorting describes how some concepts and their placement related to what is now called the Theory of Control Tuning's sub-core category *place coping* began to change during sorting:

> Place Coping was previously called Experiencing Place. It now consists of the categories Multi Routing, Establishing a New Normal, Re-rooting Home, Place Sensing, Place Picking, Past Predicting and Spatial Engaging. The previous categories were called: Multi Migrating, Choosing Where to Live, Returning to Place of Origin, Exiting, Feeling Place, Predicting Past, Experiencing New, Using Space, Belonging and Identifying, and Personal Development. Multi Routing includes memos from previous concepts of Multi Migrating, Exiting and partly Valuing Documents from the Encountering Authorities category. Establishing a New Normal consists of incidents of previous Experiencing New and partly memos under the concept of Belonging and Identifying. Re-rooting Home covers memos from previous Returning to Place of Origin as well as partly from Multi Migrating. Place Sensing has the same memos as in the previous concept of Feeling Place and partly Identifying and Belonging. Place Picking has data from the previous concepts of Choosing Where to Live and partly Using Space. Past Predicting has stayed the same during sorting. Spatial Engaging has the data under the previous concept of Using Space and partly Choosing Where to Live. Personal Development has been moved partly under the Facing Difficulties

> category and is partly combined into different categories of Place Coping.

In practice the sorting began with a large pile of memos, which I arranged into several smaller piles. Comparing memos, allowed me to place a memo at the start of new pile of memos or fit it into an already existing memo pile, depending on how it related theoretically to other memos. When I placed new memos in the piles, I was often required to find a better fit for some of the other memos. At times, I also returned to the data to check some questions I had about the memos. Moreover, there were some moments when a memo could have fitted into more than one pile, and this required a decision as to the best fit. Furthermore, I realised a few memos lacked sufficient relevance; thus to avoid burdening the new theory with superfluous material, these memos were omitted. Nevertheless, these memos can be used for future research, so they can still have importance for another grounded theory. However, omitting them gave the present theory more validity through fit, work and relevance. After all the memos were placed in best-fit piles during sorting, an outline of the theory emerged.

2.6.9. Theoretical coding

As Glaser (2005a: 11) explains:

> [T]heoretical codes implicitly conceptualize how the substantive codes will relate to each other as a modeled, interrelated, multivariate set of hypotheses in accounting for resolving the main concern. They are emergent and weave the fractured substantive story turned into substantive concepts back into an organized theory. They provide the models for theory generation and emerge during later coding, memoing and especially in sorting memo banks.

Elsewhere, Glaser continues by stating that "[i]t is the interaction between substantive and theoretical coding which characterizes grounded theory and an analytical inductive research methodology rather than conceptual journalism" (Glaser 1998: 164). Theoretical codes are emergent in the data and must earn their way into the theory in the same way as substantive codes. The

more researchers have read different theories and are sensitive and open to different kinds of theoretical codes, the easier it is for them to see which theoretical code suits their own theory when it emerges. Several theoretical codes have been found by Glaser, Strauss and others (Glaser 2005a), including, for example, temporal family, basic social process, outer limits and balancing. In the Theory of Control Tuning, the theoretical codes of *causal family* and *social arena* emerged. Causal family relates to the control-tuning paths occurring in relation to migration, whereas the social arena relates to the behavioural arena that refers to the setting where control-tuning paths appear.

The Theory of Control Tuning consists of two parts. The first part is comprised of control-tuning paths, which belong to a causal family of control-tuning causes, control-tuning strategies and control-tuning outcomes, which are affected by conditions and intervening factors. These control-tuning paths occur in relation to the second part of the theory: the behavioural arena where control-tuning paths exist and develop. This behavioural arena is formed from various conceptual levels, the highest of which is the core category of *control tuning*, followed by its sub-core categories of *place coping*, *encountering authority*, *link keeping* and *knowledge dealing*, their various categories, and, at the lowest level, their properties. The behavioural arena is connected to practical incidents that demonstrate its relationship to various issues, circumstances and actors' *control tuning* through control-tuning paths. Both parts of the Theory of Control Tuning, the causal family and the behavioural arena, are grounded in the data. The Theory of Control Tuning explains the main concern of migration actors – the processing of control – and how it occurs as a behaviour.

2.6.10. Writing up and using the literature

In this dissertation, I have followed the advice given to me by Dr Glaser in relation to writing about the new theory, which was to present just one sub-core category rather than the whole theory.

Grounded theory research is written up on the basis of piles of sorted memos and the theoretical code/s emerging from that sorting. As mentioned earlier, in contrast to qualitative research, grounded theory researchers do not conduct a literature review at the beginning of the research process. The extant literature is included in the research once the researcher understands the

subject of the new theory and the literature s/he needs to turn to in order to include relevant literature, theories, concepts and ideas in his/her own research. Grounded theory is more about concepts than illustrations, but illustrations are often included in writing, as they show the reader the practical incidents on which the theory is based. This is also the case in this research when I explain the Theory of Control Tuning by taking it back to its roots of the empirical data. Writing-up is also significant for researchers because, after finishing it, they are able to discuss the new theory with their colleagues and other interested people. Sharing concepts and theoretical ideas too early, especially with those who are unfamiliar with grounded theory, can jeopardise the research process, they can derail the researcher by suggesting ideas and concepts which are not actually grounded in the researcher's data. However, at the writing-up stage, researchers are certain about their new theory and can therefore accept outsiders' suggestions as part of additional data, if they so choose, and include them in the new theory if they are relevant.

After writing-up the sorted piles of memos, I reworked the Theory of Control Tuning to clarify ideas to ensure that the integration worked and to edit the text. I rewrote the theory twice before incorporating the extant literature. The position of the Theory of Control Tuning in relation to extant theories and the literature can be found in the latter part of this dissertation. Having explained the grounded theory process in my research, I now turn, before introducing the Theory of Control Tuning, to an explanation of some important aspects of fieldwork that affected data collection.

3. FIELDWORK AND ITS CHALLENGES

In this chapter, I briefly introduce the research areas of Finland, Egypt, Sudan and Uganda, from where I collected the primary data. In addition, I explain why Syria and Lebanon are part of the data. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with a framework for where the data were collected, rather than to enter into the details of the particular situation of migration in these areas. The chapter also explains the many practical aspects that required consideration in relation to my fieldwork and my role as a researcher.

Moreover, I also share some of the challenges I faced while conducting multi-sited fieldwork in, at times, dangerous circumstances.

3.1. Research areas

As a theory, the Theory of Control Tuning is not attached to any particular place, time or people per se; thus there is no need for a detailed description of them here. However, a brief explanation of the background of the research areas (appendix 2) where the data collection occurred is required. As this research is a response to the need to unite various types of migration movements, migration actors, situations, places and circumstances under one theory, I needed to select research areas where these factors would differ. In this way, the overall main pattern of migration actors' behaviour was allowed to emerge by grounding it in a strong data set, rather than in a few practical incidents.

Finland, Egypt, Sudan and Uganda were the countries where I gathered the primary data for this research and where I spent approximately nine months in the field collecting data and engaging in other activities in 2005–2006. In addition, Syria and Lebanon form part of the data, as they were countries where some of the interviewees had transited through or lived before exiting to other countries. In the following, I briefly introduce the data collection locations and the reason I chose them for this research. The order of the countries in the text is the same as the order of my fieldwork. For a more in-depth history of and the present situation of migration in these countries, the reader will find the relevant literature online and in bookstores and libraries.

3.1.1. Finland

I began the data collection in Finland, as I already had some Sudanese contacts there through my previous work among Sudanese migrants in Egypt who had been resettled to Finland. In Finland (appendix 3), I conducted interviews, participant observation and discussions with resettled refugees, authorities working among Sudanese refugees and other migrants as well as with local residents. The locations of the fieldwork were Helsinki, Vantaa, Kokkola, Vaasa, Otanmäki and Kajaani. A large increase in the number of Sudanese

migrants in Finland began in 2001, with the first legally recognised quota refugees accepted to the Finnish resettlement programme, although a few migrants from South Sudan or other places in Sudan had migrated to Finland before this date. The Sudanese mainly arrived in Finland from Egypt and Lebanon; however, some individuals and families were resettled from countries such as Uganda. Resettled quota refugees were placed both in small rural communities and urban centres. In the beginning, children were allocated placements in kindergartens and schools, whereas adults participated in Finnish or Swedish language courses, internships or employment. In many places, the authorities had experience of working with various migrants, including other quota refugees accepted for resettlement, but most authorities had never worked with the Sudanese before the resettled groups arrived. For local residents, this was the first time they had come into contact with or lived in same areas as Sudanese people (from South Sudan and other parts of Sudan).

3.1.2. Egypt

After Finland, I conducted fieldwork in Egypt, primarily in Cairo and Alexandria (appendix 4). I had previously worked in Egypt for the International Organization for Migration, where one my duties had been planning and implementing cultural orientation for Sudanese refugees accepted for resettlement in Finland. During my PhD fieldwork, I was affiliated with the Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Program through the School of Humanities and Social Sciences of the American University in Cairo. This provided a good way to connect with migrants, including South Sudanese asylum seekers and refugees, as well as with experts on migration. In Cairo and Alexandria, I mainly interviewed asylum seekers, recognised refugees, other migrants, state employees and the staff of non-governmental organisations, international organisations and churches. Furthermore, discussions with local residents and researchers developed my understanding of the migration situation in Egypt. In addition to the interviews, participant observation was also an important part of the fieldwork. I had opportunity to conduct interviews in migrants' homes and the premises of organisations, and I visited apartment buildings and slum areas for migrant interviews and observation. There were no refugee camps in Egypt. Fluctuations in the

political and conflict-related circumstances in South and North Sudan also influenced the fieldwork in Egypt as the number and origins of Sudanese migrants varied. During the period of fieldwork in Cairo, a sit-in of asylum seekers, refugees and their supporters began in one of the parks in the Cairo district of Mohandeseen, near where I lived. I visited the sit-in several times, and research-wise it provided an interesting setting for understanding migrants' situation in Egypt. The people in the sit-in were demanding better treatment in Egypt and resettlement elsewhere. During its three months, the sit-in demonstrated the complex dynamics of interaction between migration actors. I selected Egypt for this research because of its important position as a receiving country of migration, the challenging living and political conditions for migrants, and the large number of Sudanese migrants who had moved there.

3.1.3. Sudan

At the time of my fieldwork, there was only one official state of Sudan (appendix 5), which comprised the areas of South Sudan, West Sudan (including Darfur), East Sudan (including the areas of Beja people) and North Sudan. However, a political upheaval occurred during my fieldwork, as John Garang, who had led the Sudan People's Liberation Army's fight for the independence of South Sudan, died in a helicopter crash shortly after signing the peace agreement between South and North Sudan. At the time of his death in July 2005, he was the first vice president of Sudan. His unexpected death affected the participant observations and interviews for this research, as it provided a new setting for South Sudanese communities around the world. South Sudan has a long and complicated history of conflict. The main civil wars between South and North Sudan occurred between 1955 and 1972, and 1983 and 2005. In 2005 a peace agreement was signed that, among other issues, agreed the terms of a 2011 referendum on independence for South Sudan. The referendum subsequently demonstrated South Sudanese support for full independence, and thus in July 2011 the new state of the Republic of South Sudan was born. However, In 2013 South Sudan fell into a civil war, and the 2016 peace deal was short-lived. The conflict between South and North Sudan and the civil war within South Sudan have led to the internal and international migration of millions of South Sudanese. At times during these

conflicts, the South Sudanese represented the largest internally displaced population in the world. In addition to the conflict, South Sudanese migrants have also moved within South Sudan, to (North) Sudan, to neighbouring countries and further afield in order to exploit opportunities for education and employment and for family-related reasons. (Appendix 7)

My fieldwork in Sudan mainly occurred in Khartoum and the surrounding area, where, at the time, there was a very high number of internally displaced people. I conducted interviews, participant observation and discussions with internally displaced persons from South Sudan and other parts of Sudan, and with authorities and local residents of North Sudan. The geographical areas of fieldwork included the centre of Khartoum and the internal displacement camps of Jebel Aulia and Mayo Mandela and the area of Soba Aradi. In addition, I visited the Omdurman area. Due to security problems, however, I was unable to access South Sudan. Nevertheless, Sudan was a natural choice for fieldwork, as I was studying South Sudanese migration and was interested also in the main concern of those in internal displacement.

3.1.4. Uganda

After Sudan, I conducted fieldwork in Uganda (appendix 6), where I collected data in Kampala (the capital city), the Kyangwali and Rhino Camp refugee settlements and the town of Arua. I chose Kampala for studying urban migrants and for authority interviews. In turn, the Kyangwali refugee settlement, in the western part of Uganda, provided the possibility of researching refugees in camp conditions in a remote area. The settlement is close to the border of Congo, from where asylum seekers were entering the settlement; thus this provided an opportunity to compare how these two groups (Sudanese and Congolese) experienced migration and life in the settlement. Rhino Camp, which is located in a dry area in north-west Uganda, allowed me to understand the challenging role rural areas and camp structures play in migrants' lives. Arua, a small town in north-west Uganda, was a place to which people would move not only for conflict-related reasons but also because of employment, education and family relationships. Arua is the district's commercial and administrative centre and plays host to several humanitarian organisations. The intention was for me to cross from Arua to South Sudan to conduct fieldwork, but due to security concerns this proved

impossible. In Uganda I interviewed asylum seekers, recognised refugees, employment and education-induced migrants as well as the staff of organisations (such as NGOs and religious organisations), local councils, state employees and local residents. Uganda has a long history of dealing with migration issues with South Sudan. Both countries have experienced several conflicts and problems that have led to large-scale migration movements between the two countries. In addition, people from the same ethnic groups live on both sides of the border. Moreover, there is also a history of trade, education and employment between South Sudan and Uganda.

3.1.5. Syria and Lebanon

Syria and Lebanon form part of the research because both countries functioned as transit countries. Furthermore, some of the resettled refugees I interviewed in Finland had lived and/or worked in one or both countries for a longer time, and some had been educated or imprisoned there. I had arranged a short fieldwork trip to Syria and Lebanon to see whether any new data could be collected to strengthen the new theory, but, for practical reasons, I was forced to cancel the trip. Migration related to Syria and Lebanon provided data, for example, on human smuggling, corruption and the challenges of employer-employee relationships. In addition, the role of religion, detention and resettlement arose in relation to these two countries.

3.2. Practicalities of fieldwork and the role of the researcher

There are several challenges to conducting migration-related fieldwork. These challenges vary according to such factors as the person doing the research, the type of migration being researched, the place where the fieldwork is conducted and the risks the researcher is prepared to take to obtain data. I worked entirely on my own, without any practical or mental support from a project or university staff other than some financial support for conducting fieldwork. During this fieldwork, I encountered several security concerns, particularly in Egypt, Uganda and Sudan. I was a relatively young European woman whose appearance differed from that of migrants and the local residents of those

three countries, and my appearance was both an advantage and a disadvantage during data collection. In connection with how I presented myself, my appearance either increased or decreased acceptance and trust between myself and migration actors, depending on the circumstances. I was often seen as a rich, available young woman whom some considered a ticket out of a difficult situation. Requests for money were rare, but they were sometimes made. I understand this completely in the case of migrants, especially refugees and asylum seekers living in extremely difficult situations; however, the authorities also asked for money. My educational background, employment history and personal life often differed from those I interviewed, especially in the case of migrants. I had been a migrant myself several times, but never due to a conflict. The fact that I came from a faraway country and was not a member of the local community or an authority of a state or an international organisation, allowed people to talk more freely than they would with a local resident or other people from that particular place or country.

My curiosity and determination helped me gain access to different Sudanese communities, authorities, organisations, local residents and other migrant communities, which at times were difficult to access. It was also to my advantage that I had previous experience of working and living in Egypt and other African countries. Moreover, my social and environmental skills and long experience in migration-related issues benefited the fieldwork. However, as South Sudanese migration was strongly influenced by conflicts, the experiences and problems of migrants also affected my fieldwork. In addition, the way men in some of the fieldwork areas dealt with foreign women contributed to the challenges I faced in the field. Finally, infrastructure problems were strongly present in both the urban centres and rural areas of these developing countries, especially in relation to logistics and travelling from place to place.

Some issues of security and well-being typify the difficulties that sometimes arise regarding migration-related data collection. Before travelling to Sudan, Egypt and Uganda, I naturally realised there was a chance of being killed, but only during fieldwork did I come to understand the effect of my research on myself and those participating in it. Some migrants I interviewed, especially asylum seekers and refugees, relived their traumas of rape, abuse, torture and seeing the murder of family members. The authorities expressed their distress over their inability to assist migrants. Interpreters, who were

often refugees and asylum seekers themselves, translated their fellow migrants' stories, which reminded them of their own horrific experiences of conflict, violence and migration. Not only had the interviewees and most interpreters experienced such terrible situations caused by a conflict but many had also faced other great challenges, such as hunger, poverty, sicknesses, mental health problems and being far away from their loved ones. During the fieldwork, I listened to life-stories that highlighted the darkest side of human beings. In addition to taking into account my own emotions and health, I also needed to do my best to take care of the physical and mental health of the interviewees and interpreters. Conducting research, especially on conflict-induced migration, is psychologically demanding.

While I conducted multi-sited fieldwork, changing cultures, countries, places and ways of life on a somewhat tight schedule also created challenges. This was despite my having previously lived and worked in distinct places in different parts of the world and having conducted interviews and participant observation in challenging circumstances before. Changing these environments demanded fast adaption, both physically and mentally. I was required to quickly understand how places, societies and communities functioned in order to proceed with my work. Travelling to remote areas with poor infrastructure and very basic conditions in relation to accommodation, food, health and security added to the physical and mental challenges. During my research, some severe security threats and life-threatening incidents occurred. In one of the urban centres, I was followed by a stalker, which caused practical problems in moving around and living there. Sexual harassment and the possibility of rape were also present in some of the urban centres and refugee settlements. During my work in internal displacement camps, I was followed, and my work was monitored by a group of local armed men whose identity I was never able to ascertain. They would, for example, travel with me without my consent and demand my belongings. In one camp I was held at gun-point but was fortunately able to escape the situation. In addition, there were several other security concerns that arose. For example, just one week prior to my planned trip to South Sudan foreigners were killed on the road along which I was supposed to travel; thus I needed to reconsider the possibilities for the journey. In addition, there were times when I needed to travel along routes that were known for attacks. Sometimes I was also the target of threats from people suffering from mental health problems and

substance misuse. I also had issues with my health, such as the suspicion of having contracted a tropical disease. Furthermore, I was involved in a number of car accidents as a passenger. In addition, carrying highly sensitive data with me, seeking reliable information on sufficiently safe local areas for fieldwork and conducting research in unknown places added to the challenge.

4. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In migration research, ethical issues are extremely important. The data are often sensitive, so a researcher needs to consider various ethical questions. In contrast to universities in England or the United States, at the time of my fieldwork the University of Helsinki did not require written consent from interviewees. However, when I explained the meaning of the interviews or my presence, I asked for oral consent from the migration actors for participation in the interviews. Moreover, when I interviewed children or young people, I asked for permission from either their parents or guardians or once from a teacher close to them. Moreover, on some occasions when I interviewed young people, an adult family member was present. When interviewing children and young people, I also ensured that they felt comfortable conversing with me and that they only discussed those matters they wished to talk about and found important. It was of utmost importance to me that the well-being of these young interviewees was protected. Throughout the research and fieldwork, I did my best to prevent any harm to the interviewees by, for instance, revealing their identity or what they had told me. If the authorities had known this information, problems could have arisen between migrants and the authorities, especially as the interviews were related to experiences in conflict, migration and encountering the authorities. I was very much aware that if the recordings of the migrant interviews, and some authority interviews, had fallen into the hands of particular authorities, problems – even of a life-threatening nature – could have arisen for the interviewees. Thus, I took very good care to ensure that the recordings were kept in a safe place throughout the research. Moreover, I applied for the necessary permission from the appropriate authorities to conduct the research.

When probing into a sensitive topic, I had to consider how far to proceed with questions in order to avoid damaging and disturbing the minds of the interviewees. I concentrated on one interview at the time and reflected on the interviewee's reaction to my questions and how freely s/he was able to talk about traumatic issues, and I considered the interviewee's mental health more important than pushing for answers to obtain the data I was interested in. Even when giving primacy to the migrants' health, I nonetheless received interesting data, and I also had the peace of mind of knowing that I did not cross a line that would place an additional burden on the interviewees. When the interviewees had discussed extremely sensitive personal experiences, I tried to visit them afterwards to enquire about their wellbeing and ensure the presence of a support network. It would have been ideal to organise psychological counselling after the interview for those who wanted it, but unfortunately this was impossible in the field with the available resources. As the interpreters were usually conflict-induced migrants themselves and had experienced similar horrors to the interviewees, I also ensured that the interpreters were able to talk to me at any time about their own feelings. On some occasions the interpreters were also so overwhelmed by the experiences of interviewees and emotions related to their own experiences in migration that I needed to interrupt the interviews. There were some instances where the experiences of an interviewee caused the interviewee, interpreter and me as a researcher to become so upset that it was necessary to take a small break. I respected the request whenever there was a need for a break or if an interviewee wanted to stop the interview (the latter occurred just once). However, the migrants usually appreciated the chance to discuss their experiences and were grateful to share their migration story with me. Moreover, the authorities often informed me they were happy about my interest in their work and the challenges they were experiencing.

At the beginning of each interview, I explained its purpose, and in migrant interviews I informed the interviewees that the interview was completely voluntary and could be interrupted if the interviewee so wished. I asked for permission to record the interview to support my memory, and I also explained that no one could be identified in the written research, as the interviews would be anonymised. In addition, I informed the migrants that I would not give the tapes to anyone else, or allow them listen to the material. I have acted thus throughout the research, and I considered honesty,

confidentiality and keeping my promise to maintain the anonymity of the participants both during the fieldwork and beyond a core issue.

State, municipal, city and inter-governmental authority interviews were often conduced at a more official level. By contrast, NGO and local resident interviews were more relaxed. Moreover, I was sometimes required to take account of friction between migration actors, especially between NGO and state authorities, when dealing with the information I obtained. As various power and control issues existed between the authorities, migrants and local residents, I ensured that I would reveal no information received in interviews or participant observation in other interviews or when dealing with other migration actors. Through participant observation, I did my best to obtain as much useful data as possible. However, this was not done by intruding into the migration actors' personal life or space without an invitation to see and to listen. Moreover, I treated all participants in this research equally. During interaction with migration actors, I made no distinctions on the basis of nationality, race, age, gender, sexual orientation, legal or imagined status, wealth, educational or employment background or any other issue. Respect towards all the interviewees, irrespective of their backgrounds, has been very important to me as a researcher.

Various financial issues also deserve to be included among the ethical issues considered in this research. At the beginning of the study, I was required to decide on the matter of whether to pay interpreters and interviewees. As a doctoral student with limited resources, it was impossible to pay everyone, and I did not consider paying interviewees entirely appropriate, as this could influence the outcome of the interviews. As I began the fieldwork in Finland, where migrants were living in safety and, compared to the areas they had arrived from, were leading a reasonably comfortable life, I informed the migrant interpreters that with my limited financial possibilities I would prefer paying those migrant interpreters who were struggling outside Finland. This was understood and agreed to by the interpreters helping me in Finland. In Egypt and Uganda the interpreters were themselves migrants trying to cope in difficult circumstances, and I paid them according to the number of interviews they interpreted. In Sudan the interpretation was performed by the staff of local NGOs; thus I did not pay them, as they offered their help for free. I paid none of the interviewees, but when possible I provided them with refreshments during the interviews. In addition, after the interview I bought a

mosquito net and some food stuff for a small number of migrant families living in an extremely challenging situation in Uganda. They were unaware of this in the interview, so these gifts had no impact on the interview data.

PART TWO: THE THEORY

5. THE THEORY OF CONTROL TUNING

> The interviewee emphasises the responsibility of every single person to take control of their own life. (Memo 010805/35)

The Theory of Control Tuning (TCT) explains the main concern – the processing of control – of migration actors in relation to migration affected aspects of their lives. The Theory shows how migration actors resolve challenges related to control by *control tuning* in connection with a behavioural arena that consists of activities like *place coping*, *knowledge dealing*, *encountering authority* and *link keeping*. Behaviour that occurs in relation to place, knowledge, authorities and linking with others, brings out control situations that require actors to process control as they themselves or others possess and use control or as they or someone else face control due to the behaviour of others. Control can be acceptable, unpleasant or insignificant from the view point of actors. Therefore, control is processed in different ways by actors depending on its importance and the situation/s where it appears. *Control tuning* occurs due to, what often is, a series of control situations that generate a particular control-tuning path in order for migration actors to manage different events, situations, feelings, objects and actors during migration or in relation to it.

There are causes that bring about the need to react to one's own or someone else's control. Migration actors adopt a strategy or strategies in order to, for instance, promote or hinder one's own or someone else's control to reach an outcome that they consider appropriate. How migration actors regard that a person or people treat them or those important to them, affects what kinds of strategies are needed in a control situation. Even if migration actors, either consciously or subconsciously, aim at reaching a suitable level or degree of control, this may not always realise as desired.

When migration actors intend to change or keep the control situation as it is but it becomes something else than what they aim at, migration actors may adopt a different strategy or strategies, or remain with the same strategy in

their attempt to process control and to transform the control situation. Only when migration actors are successful or satisfied in the processing of control, there is no need to seek for a strategy or strategies for further processing control by *control tuning*. Control situations are affected by several intervening factors that modify the control-tuning paths, thus impacting the need for a particular control strategy or strategies. Intervening factors can be control supportive or control preventing. *Control tuning* occurs when there is dissatisfaction and a negative condition, and it continues until migration actors are satisfied with the control situation and experience a positive condition. A control-tuning outcome appears at the end of a control-tuning path. However, as many control-tuning paths can occur simultaneously, even if one control-tuning path ends, others are often still pursued and new ones begin. Migration actors process control by *control tuning* while both travelling through various environments and remaining in spaces and places.

5.1. Control-tuning paths

There are several ways of processing control when needed. When a migration actor experiences causes and negative conditions, there is need to adapt a control-tuning strategy or strategies to change the prevailing control situation in order to have an appropriate outcome, a control-tuning path emerges (figure 1). A control-tuning path often consists of various control situations but can also include only one control situation. While on a control-tuning path, a control-tuning strategy can promote or prevent the expected control-tuning outcome, or there may be no change to the prevailing situation. Intervening factors can have a great influence on the outcome of control situations, therefore affecting a control-tuning path. When the path ends, there is a particular control-tuning outcome (or outcomes) as the end result (or results) of *control tuning*. (Theoretical memo 310914/1)

When an actor disagrees with the control-tuning outcome and faces a negative condition, s/he attempts to change the prevailing control situation. An actor can do this by using the same strategy or strategies of *control tuning* as before, but s/he can also adopt other strategies, which may be more fruitful for obtaining the desired control-tuning outcome. Thus, a control-tuning path may continue until an actor experiences a positive condition and has no cause

to seek another control-tuning strategy or to continue with the same strategy to change the prevailing control situation. (Theoretical memo 290914/5). The control-tuning paths and the behavioural arena together allow *control tuning* to occur. Thus, there occur modifications of control in relation to events, situations, feelings, people and objects related to the particular behavioural arena of migration. Control can be processed by an individual actor but *control tuning* can also be carried out by several actors by using the same or different control-tuning strategy or strategies in relation to the same control situation.

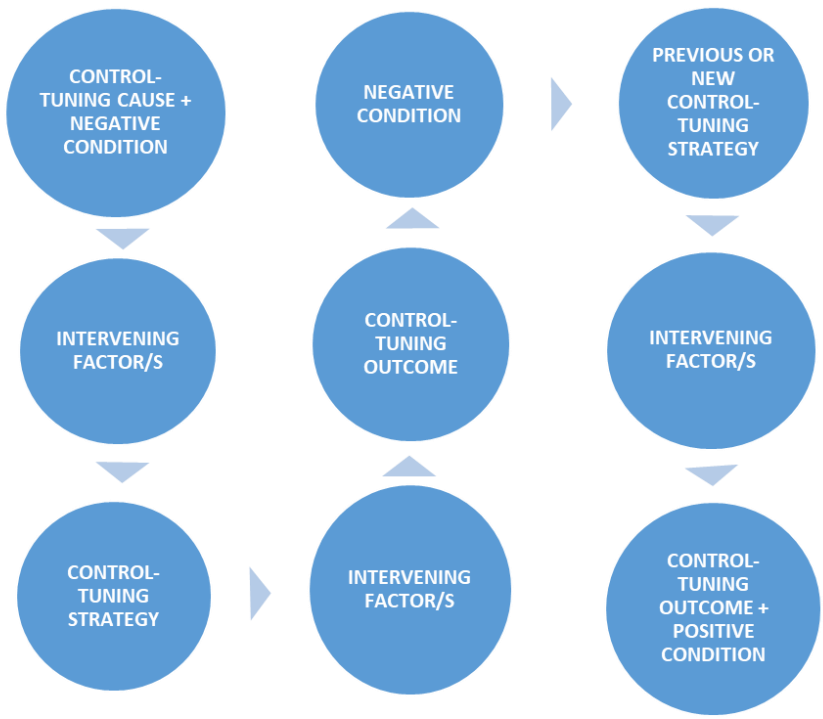

Figure 1. A simplified control-tuning path.

5.1.1. Control-tuning actors

Migration-related control-tuning paths require people who act in relation to control. In the Theory of Control Tuning, control-tuning actors include both migrants who have personal experience of migration movements and staying in migration-related spaces and places and also, for example, the children of migrants, who have never actually participated in migration. Actors can be

both individuals with personal experience of, for instance, a conflict, environmental disaster, man-made problems, employment, education and migration related to the above, and also individuals who are aware of the impact of migration and related conflicts, disasters, issues and other challenges on people and movements through the experiences of others, such as their family members, relatives or friends. Migration actors can also be local residents or authorities. Local residents can be those who choose to stay or are unable to migrate from a place from where others migrate. Alternatively, local residents can be people living along migration routes and places where migrants move and stay. Authorities are actors who have authority over others. This authority may be possessed through work, education or something else. What is required from local residents and authorities, however, is a direct link to migration, for example through interaction with migrants or by working or residing in an area with migrants who affect, in some way, the actor's life. From the perspective of migrants, authorities and local residents are an important part of their migration experience (Theoretical memo 180914/1). As migration actors, authorities and local residents normally have opinions on migration and migrants, even if their direct interaction with migrants is not particularly strong.

As control-tuning actors, migrants can be individuals with various legal and adopted statuses, such as, for example, internally displaced persons, asylum seekers, recognised refugees, returnees, resettled refugees, or education- or employment-induced migrants. Just like authorities and local residents, migrants can be of any age, gender, ethnicity or religion. They can have any educational or work-related background.

As control-tuning actors, authorities can be representatives of, for instance, a state, a municipality or local structures like councils for refugees or internally displaced persons. School and kindergarten teachers and health service employees can also be control-tuning actors, as can, for example, the representatives of religious entities, non-governmental organisations and international organisations. Authorities may have personal experience of migration or experience of migration through, for instance, their work. Local people in areas related to migration – for instance, places of origin, transit, asylum, return and resettlement – also engage in the processing of control through their everyday life. Actors of control can be in different positions in relation to one another. Authority can also be possessed by other migrants and

local residents, providing they have some control over another migration actor. Control can occur between migrants, between migrants and local residents, between migrants and authorities, and between local residents and authorities, and so on. Actors can be of any nationality or stateless; they may or may not have citizenship. Moreover, legal status can differ from adopted status. For example, actors can feel they are refugees even when they are asylum seekers with no legally recognised refugee status. Furthermore, a status of an actor can differ during migration movements. (Theoretical memo 290914/6)

5.1.2. Conditions

Control-tuning conditions promote or prevent the need to adopt a control-tuning strategy, and they can be positive or negative. In the case of a positive condition, migration actors face no outer threat to their own control and/or to the control of another person (or persons) significant to them. In the presence of such positive conditions, there is no need to change the control situation. Nevertheless, even in the absence of an external threat, an actor may still seek to change the control situation if s/he feels an inner need to do so, thereby creating a negative condition. In addition, there can be a negative condition present when an outer threat to one's own control and/or to the control of other(s) occurs. In the case of a negative condition, the prevailing control situation becomes such that it impels an actor to seek a control-tuning strategy in order to change the situation. When a negative condition is present, both inner and outer needs for change are greater than in the presence of a positive condition, thus, increasing the need for a control-tuning strategy. (Theoretical memo 290914/3)

5.1.3. Control-tuning causes

The Theory of Control Tuning includes 31 causes (table 1) (e.g. *need to accept control* or *need to increase control*) that drive actors to seek and adopt control-tuning strategies. Control-tuning causes only accentuate the need to process control and to adopt control-tuning strategies in relation to positive and negative control conditions. If a migration actor feels or experiences a threat to control and/or is dissatisfied with the prevailing control situation, negative

condition arises for seeking the most suitable control-tuning strategy in that particular situation. (Theoretical memo 290914/4)

Table 1. Control-tuning causes.

Agreeing to other's control
Dealing with equal control
Desire to diminish other's control
Having limited or no control
Need to accept control
Need to accept forced control
Need to allow control
Need to change prevailing control
Need to deal with forced control
Need to deal with obstructing control
Need to deal with one's own diminished control
Need to demonstrate who is in control
Need to diminish other's control
Need to divide one's own control
Need to facilitate control
Need to force control
Need to increase control
Need to maintain a control equilibrium
Need to maintain control
Need to negotiate control
Need to prevent control
Need to re-establish control
Need to relinquish control
Need to resist control
Need to resist forced control
Need to share control
Need to understand control
No need to change the prevailing control
Rejecting forced control
Taking advantage of increased control
Wanting to force control

5.1.4. Control-tuning strategies

Control-tuning strategies (table 2) are the actions that migration actors take to change the prevailing control situation or to keep the control situation as it is. The Theory of Control Tuning comprises of 27 control-tuning strategies (e.g. *sharing control* or *dealing with obstructing control*). Control-tuning

strategies can appear simultaneously or separately in relation to migration. Control-tuning strategies can alternate and may form combinations that benefit some actors while hindering others. Control-tuning strategies may be adopted at a fast or slow pace, depending on the control-tuning situations and especially on the control-tuning causes. When the control-tuning outcome of using a particular control-tuning strategy is dissatisfactory, an actor can adopt the same or different strategies, which can be implemented by individuals and groups, in order to attempt to change the prevailing control situation. (Theoretical memo 300914/1)

Table 2. Control-tuning strategies.

Accepting control
Balancing control
Claiming control
Dealing with forced control
Dealing with obstructing control
Diminishing other's control
Doubting control
Expressing control
Facilitating control
Fearing control
Forcing control
Handing over control
Hindsighting control
Increasing control
Negotiating control
No need for a particular strategy
Preventing control
Promoting control
Rebuilding control
Resisting control
Resisting forced control
Retaining control
Seeing only the positive side of control
Sharing control
Skipping control
Stating control
Stepping back from control

5.1.5. Control-tuning outcomes

Control-tuning outcomes (table 3) appear at the end of a control-tuning path; they are the results of using a control-tuning strategy or several strategies. There are 22 control-tuning outcomes in the Theory of Control Tuning. Control-tuning outcomes can be satisfactory (thus successful), dissatisfactory (thus failed), neutral, or a combination of the above. Moreover, there may also be no change in control. The type of control-tuning outcome in question depends on whose perspective the control situation is considered from. Often satisfactory control-tuning outcomes for controlling *place coping* include *gained control*, *rebuilt control*, *regained control*, *reclaimed control*, *increased control*, *modified control*, *possessed control*, *shared control*, *equal control*, *forced control*, *feared control* and *accepted control*. Conversely, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes are frequently *lost control*, *non-existent control*, *decreased control*, *modified control*, *equal control*, *forced control*, *feared control*, *lacking control* and *accepted control*. *Forced control* and *feared control* can be either satisfactory or dissatisfactory, depending on whether the actor in question experiences *forced* or *feared control* or exerts it over others. Likewise, *accepted control* and *equal control* can be satisfactory or dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes depending on the incident and how actors view their effect. An example of a neutral control-tuning outcome is *impartial control* (for instance, control occurs according to the rules accepted by all parties without any party considering that the other(s) have more or less control; thus, control is somewhat smooth). A combination of control-tuning outcomes include *simultaneous control* (e.g. promoting one's own control while preventing another's control), *momentary control* (e.g. an actor being in control for a period of time but then losing that control), *fluctuating control* (e.g. control varying according to the situation) and *overlapping control* (e.g. many different control-tuning outcomes appearing at the same time). (Theoretical memo 011014/1)

Table 3. Control-tuning outcomes.

Accepted control
Decreased control
Equal control
Feared control
Fluctuating control
Forced control
Gained control
Impartial control
Increased control
Lacking control
Lost control
Modified control
Momentary control
Non-existent control
No particular outcome
Overlapping control
Possessed control
Rebuilt control
Reclaimed control
Regained control
Shared control
Simultaneous control

5.1.6. Intervening factors

Control-tuning strategies and control-tuning outcomes are affected by many factors that promote and prevent control. These so-called *intervening factors* (appendix 8) can include various possibilities, opportunities, contradictions and misunderstandings, or they may be the characteristics of a given actor. Intervening factors can also consist of the different abilities and means of a particular actor. Moreover, intervening factors can overlap on control-tuning paths. There are many intervening factors in control situations, and their impact can vary according to the migration actor in question. (Theoretical memo 290914/1)

In the Theory of Control Tuning certain intervening factors are termed *basic factors*. These include age, sex, ethnicity and appearance, including skin colour. Some of these basic factors can change over time and during migration, such as age; however, they change less frequently than what I refer to as *varying factors*. Varying factors cover a great number of elements: health,

gender roles, cultural similarities/differences, the presence of family and networks, the possibilities for onward movement, attitude, personal skills, characteristics and knowledge, an ongoing/halting conflict, emotions, opportunities for employment, and the types of and distances between various spaces and places. In addition, varying factors that affect control-tuning strategies and control-tuning outcomes also include ways of thinking, education levels, financial means and costs, presence of people, assistance, services, existing policies, and behaviour. The interest level of an individual or group in migration matters and experiences can also influence the processing of control. (Theoretical memo 290914/1, theoretical memo 230616/1)

Intervening factors also contain what I term *control supportive instruments*, which can include means and abilities. In practice, they can be means of communication, such as phones, mailing systems, social media, television and encounters with other people. They can also be means of transportation, such as trains, cars or aeroplanes. Other instruments include the different control-supporting abilities of individuals, groups or authorities. They can include the abilities to explain (for instance, why is one there), socialise with others, to forgive (for instance violent attacks), choose (for instance what one wants), move (for instance between places) and interpret (for instance, the behaviour and actions of other people and authorities). Instruments that support control can generally be said to be control-promoting abilities or control-preventing inabilities. (Theoretical memo 290914/2)

5.2. Behavioural arena of migration

In the Theory of Control Tuning, different control situations occur in relation to the behavioural arena of migration (table 4; appendix 8). This then explains in relation to what migration actors process control in control-tuning paths. The behavioural arena includes elements, circumstances, conditions, relationships and objects of the physical, social, political, cultural and economic world with which migration actors come into contact and interact. The core category of the Theory of Control Tuning is *control tuning* and there are four sub-core categories that link to the core category. These four sub-core categories are *link keeping*, *encountering authority*, *knowledge dealing* and

place coping. This dissertation introduces the sub-core category of *place coping* in more detail, whereas the other three sub-categories are introduced in more depth in other publications. Thereby, I follow Dr Glaser's advice on presenting only one of the sub-core categories in my dissertation.

Table 4. Behavioural arena of migration.

CORE CATEGORY	*SUB-CORE CATEGORIES*	*CATEGORIES*	*PROPERTIES*
CONTROL TUNING			
	LINK KEEPING		
		LOCAL MINGLING	
			-Evolving friendship -Being local -Expressing contradictions -Analysing opportunities
		NEGATIVE TAGGING	
			-Acting on suspicion and misunderstanding -Allocating to differences
		WEB LINKING	
			-Communicating -Assisting -Feeling togetherness
		LEVEL RANKING	
			-Compartmentalising
	ENCOUNTERING AUTHORITY		
		MANIFESTING DOMINANCE	
			-Representing the system -Playing cat and mouse
		PROCESSING	
			-Widening the gap -Convincing power -Enemy siding -Defect indicating
		AIDING	
			-No-aiding -Enabling aiding

		ENDURING UNCERTAINTIES	
			-Facing politics of not-knowing -Profiting
		DOCUMENT DEPENDENCE	
			-Seeing self -Document harassing -Being protected -Finding other ways
	KNOWLEDGE DEALING		
		KNOWLEDGE ADDING	
			-Lacking knowledge -Key aiming -Considering children
		AREA GRASPING	
			-Pre-comprehending -Imagining the unattainable
		FORECASTING	
			-Handling self development
	PLACE COPING		
		MULTI ROUTING	
			-Exiting -Document solutioning
		PLACE SENSING	
			-Freedom to choose -Emotional ride
		SPATIAL MANOEUVRING	
			-Place picking -Operating funds -Keeping safe -Dividing space
		ESTABLISHING A NEW NORMAL	
			-Cultural customising -Family-role adjusting -Being surrounded by the unfamiliar
		RE-ROOTING HOME	
			-Reality checking -Hindsighting -Practical reckoning

		PROBLEM CONFRONTING	
			-Self sustaining -Staying healthy -Okaying

5.2.1. Associating categories and properties of the behavioural arena

The core category of *control tuning* relates to several sub-core categories, categories and properties in the Theory of Control Tuning. *Link keeping*, which is one of the four sub-core categories, consists of four categories. These are *local mingling*, *negative tagging*, *web linking* and *level ranking*. *Evolving friendship*, *being local*, *expressing contradictions*, *analysing opportunities*, *acting on suspicion and misunderstanding*, *allocating to differences*, *communicating*, *assisting*, *feeling togetherness*, and *compartmentalising* are the properties of *link keeping* and its four categories. Through these properties, the categories explain the connections between migration actors and the related challenges in interaction.

Encountering authority, the second sub-core category, concentrates on explaining control and its occurrences between different types of authorities and those who are not in charge. The sub-core category of *encountering authority* comprises of five categories: *manifesting dominance*, *processing*, *aiding*, *enduring uncertainties* and *document dependence*. These categories have the following properties: *representing the system*, *playing cat and mouse*, *widening the gap*, *convincing power*, *enemy siding*, *defect indicating*, *no-aiding*, *enabling aiding*, *facing politics of not-knowing*, *profiting*, *seeing self*, *document harassing*, *being protected*, and *finding other ways*.

The third sub-core category of the Theory of Control Tuning is *knowledge dealing*. This sub-core category introduces the role of knowledge-related issues in migration. There are three categories: *knowledge adding*, *area grasping* and *forecasting*. *Area grasping* – which explains how a migration actor understands and imagines an area, giving it meaning and making it a place in his/her mind before (if ever) arriving there – relates particularly to geographical knowledge and understanding in migration. These three categories have six properties, which are *lacking knowledge*, *key aiming*,

considering children, *pre-comprehending*, *imagining the unattainable* and *handling self development*.

The fourth sub-core category, which *is place coping*, and its six categories and 17 properties are introduced in more detail in the following chapters.

5.3. Place coping

In this section I explain what *place coping* encompasses as coping in spaces and places is one of the most important issues in migration. Space and place initiate different types of behaviour, and the importance of space and place is strongly apparent in migration when moving from one geographical area to another. Space becomes place not only through real personal experiences and the meanings given to them by migration actors but also through stories heard from other people and through images and information found, for example, on the Internet and in books as well as through people's imagination. Spaces and places can be either unknown or familiar. In the Theory of Control Tuning, space and place are found in present, past and future forms. They carry a strong link to both physical and psychological experiences and exist as physical, mental and social surroundings for those involved, in one way or another, in migration. *Place coping* demonstrates how space and place are dealt with, and how space and place affect such issues as moving along diverse routes and staying put, migration actors' feeling and emotions, facing old and new challenges, problems and everyday life, and considering returning to a particular place.

Place coping is one of the four sub-core categories of the Theory of Control Tuning. The sub-core category of place coping has six categories: *multi routing*, *place sensing*, *spatial manoeuvring*, *establishing a new normal*, *re-rooting home* and *problem confronting*. These categories include different properties which explain why migration actors engage in control in relation to spaces and places. They are: in *multi routing*, *exiting* and *document solutioning*; in *place sensing*, *the freedom to choose* and *emotional ride*; in *spatial manoeuvring*, *place picking*, *operating funds*, *keeping safe* and *dividing space*; in *establishing a new normal*, *cultural customising*, *family-role adjusting* and *being surrounded by the unfamiliar*; in *re- rooting home*, *reality checking*, *hindsighting* and *practical reckoning*; and in *problem*

confronting, *self sustaining*, *staying healthy* and *okaying*. Even though all these explain different aspects of *place coping*, they can also overlap. They also in many ways link to each other.

In addition to the categories and properties of *place coping* being closely linked, they are also connected to other sub-core categories of the Theory of Control Tuning. *Control tuning* often occurs through simultaneous but distinct control-tuning paths in connection with many of the sub-core categories, categories and their properties. At times some categories and properties from the sub-core categories of the Theory of Control Tuning other than *place coping* are also mentioned here. However, as this dissertation only provides an in-depth explanation of *place coping*, I present the connections between the other sub-core categories in detail in other publications and concentrate here on the connections between *place coping* categories and their properties. In the following chapters I introduce the categories of *place coping* and their properties as part of the behavioural arena of migration.

5.3.1. Multi routing

Multi routing demonstrates how migration actors behave in connection to moving between areas and crossing borders (physical and mental), and the importance documents play in this movement. Behaviour of *multi routing* is especially significant in *exiting* and *document solutioning*. *Exiting*, which is an extremely important action, explains how migration actors egress from a space, place and/or a situation, and how *exiting* is often challenging due to a lack of *exiting* possibilities and to the actions of others. Authority control is at the heart of *exiting*. Migration actors are managed and manage with fear and insecurity in relation to *exiting*. *Exiting* is linked with the status determination process, political decisions and policies, as well as with employment and education. *Exiting* also describes the role of forced relocation and involuntary migration in *multi routing*. In addition, issues like *exiting* to provide better safety and protection, due to decreased opportunities for wellbeing in everyday life, disliking the current area of residence, loved ones and/or migrants living elsewhere and *exiting* in order to return play a significant role in *multi routing*. *Exiting* appears also as a common practice in *multi routing* and can be considered a norm of life. Nevertheless, there may also be no need to exit. It should be noted that even though *exiting* is an important element in

migration, entering also plays a major role in *multi routing*; however, perhaps surprisingly, it appears to be less important than *exiting*.

Document solutioning, on the other hand, emphasises how acquiring documents in different ways is part of *multi routing*. *Document solutioning* occurs through acquiring documents in a fully legal way, acquiring documents in a semi-legal or an illegal way and acquiring of no documents. In addition, *document solutioning* involves *control tuning* in order to acquire documents for *exiting*, for other reasons than for leaving a country.

5.3.2. Place sensing

Place sensing involves the manner in which places are felt and seen by migration actors. It demonstrates how migration actors attribute meanings to spaces and places, and how they prioritise some places in relation to others. *Place sensing* includes two aspects: *freedom to choose* and *emotional ride*. *Freedom to choose* explains the possibilities for selecting who to be with or not be with in a relationship, with whom to local mingle, how to develop skills and choosing one's beliefs. *Emotional ride* explains how a migration actor feels about home (whatever home means to that person and wherever it is located). A migrant's or other migration actor's legal and adopted statuses, such as being an asylum seeker, a refugee or a national of a country, are important in *place sensing*. Place-related feelings and memories often manifest very powerfully in migration, and they give places particular characteristics in people's minds and among their family and community.

5.3.3. Spatial manoeuvring

Spatial manoeuvring explains the importance of the real and imagined qualities of living in a particular place, the availability of funds, the safety of migration actors and the division of space for different purposes during migration. All these factors affect how migration actors maneuverer or manage in space and place. Behaviour related to *place picking*, *operating funds*, *keeping safe* and *dividing space* are central in *spatial manoeuvring*. *Place picking* explains how the imagined and real experience of migrants and the restrictions imposed by authorities and local residents affect wishes for and the realities of living in and visiting or transiting through particular places.

Operating funds explains how migrants and local residents deal with housing issues, how receiving money or financial support and lacking money are handled by migration actors, and how changes in property ownership are displayed in migration and in space. *Keeping safe* refers to authority-controlled permission, due to security concerns, to embark on migration movements or live in particular spaces and places, such as refugee camps. In addition, *keeping safe* illustrates how migrants flee areas and hide for safety and the way local residents impact migrants' safety in various spaces. *Dividing space* explains how space is, or should be, divided in order to guarantee privacy, benefit different actors in education, deal with the imprisonment of migrants or position different groups against each other or in different positions using space.

5.3.4. Establishing a new normal

Establishing a new normal unravels the way new environments and cultures encircle actors in migration. It explains how migration actors must consider different family, gender and generation roles, their interaction with others, and the physical and mental environments in diverse spaces and places. *Cultural customising*, *family-role adjusting* and *being surrounded by the unfamiliar* are part of of *establishing a new normal*. *Cultural customising* demonstrates how various cultures, traditions and cultural products alternate and change in different places of migration. Although cultures and cultural habits can also be quite similar to a previous place of residence, changes in interaction between men and women and changes in personal development frequently occur as a result of migration. During migration movements and in distinct spaces and places, *family-role adjusting* occurs in *establishing a new normal*. The roles not only of children and adults but also those of wives and husbands are modified according to the needs arising from new lifestyles and behaviour in distinct societies during migration. *Being surrounded by the unfamiliar* refers to the imagined and real nature of facing new environments. This includes not just the physical environment but also the mental environment. *Being surrounded by the unfamiliar* means managing the unknown and "starting from zero".

5.3.5. Re-rooting home

Re-rooting home explains how changes in places and the feelings and practical issues related to places affect returning to a place of origin or a place called home. The place of return is often the place of origin, but it can also be another place where a person returns. Even though returning migrants are in many ways at the centre of *re-rooting home*, authorities and local residents also play a role in returning. *Re-rooting home* includes behaviour linked to *reality checking*, *hindsighting* and *practical reckoning*. *Reality checking* refers to various situations and changes in a place of origin or other places related to migration. It also includes psychological changes, including the feelings of migration actors connected to a place of origin or other places, and in relation to being part of migration. *Hindsighting* denotes the way migrants look back to what could have been and what could have happened in particular places related to migration. *Practical reckoning*, on the other hand, highlights the practical aspects of returning to a place. *Re-rooting home* is considered from the perspectives of organised and spontaneous return, as well as from the vantage point of whether wait-and-see might be the best option before making a decision on return.

5.3.6. Problem confronting

Problem confronting demonstrates how different migration actors experience and view problems existing in relation to migration and place coping. *Self sustaining*, *staying healthy* and *okaying* explain behaviour in *problem confronting*. In *self sustaining*, migrants' skills, working to earn money, the employee-employer relationship, and employment-related policies, rules and authority behaviour describe the challenges to self development and making a living. *Staying healthy* consists of the challenges and problems associated particularly with a migrant's physical and mental health and that of children. *Okaying* illustrates a situation where no problems (or diminishing problems) are faced or where migrants fail to acknowledge problems.

PART THREE: TAKING THE THEORY OF CONTROL TUNING BACK TO ITS ROOTS

6. COMBINING THE BEHAVIOURAL ARENA WITH CONTROL-TUNING PATHS IN PRACTICE

As one of the aims of this study is to close the gap between empirical data and formal theory, it is necessary to introduce the way *control tuning* occurs in connection to practical incidents. From the perspective of grounded theory methodology, this can be seen as an experimental approach. In grounded theory studies, the theory's connection to its empirical data is normally minimised after the theory is formed rather than openly expressed, as in this study. In this section, I wish to show how the processing of control by *control tuning* appears in migration in practice.

Control-tuning paths are associated with the behavioural arena of migration in several ways. Table 5 describes the behavioural arena with its practical incident groups. Appendix 8 explains the variety of control-tuning paths in relation to the behavioural arena related to *place coping*. The appendix shows the control-tuning paths (control-tuning causes, strategies and outcomes) revealed in connection with the incident groups (incident causes, practical strategies, practical intervening factors and incident outcomes) in the behavioural arena related to *place coping*. This and the next section illustrate the way the Theory of Control Tuning unites control-tuning paths and the behavioural arena, and they demonstrate the Theory's connection to empirical data. The incident groups are not the codes received during coding but here the Theory is rather taken back to its empirical roots to introduce its connection to the empirical data.

Table 5. Behavioural arena of migration with practical incidents.

CORE CATEGORY	SUB-CORE CATEGORIES	CATEGORIES	PROPERTIES	INCIDENT GROUPS
CONTROL TUNING				
	LINK KEEPING	VARIOUS	Various	Various
	ENCOUNTERING AUTHORITY	VARIOUS	Various	Various
	KNOWLEDGE DEALING	VARIOUS	Various	Various
	PLACE COPING			
		MULTI ROUTING		
			Exiting	
				Managing people with fear and insecurity
				Political decisions and policies
				Involuntary migration
				Exiting for better safety and protection
				Forced relocation
				Decreased possibility for well-being in everyday life
				Employment
				Status determination process
				Feelings: Loved ones and/or other migrants living elsewhere
				Feelings: Disliking current place of residence
				Return movements
				Exiting as a common practice
				No need to exit
			Document solutioning	
				Acquiring documents in a fully legal way
				Acquiring documents in a semi-legal or illegal way

			Acquiring no documents
			Acquiring documents for exiting other than a country
	PLACE SENSING		
		Freedom to choose	
			Choosing to be or not be in a relationship
			Choosing how to develop skills
			Choosing a belief
			Selecting with whom to local mingle
		Emotional ride	
			Home
			Legal and adopted statuses in different places
			Memories related to places
			Feelings related to places
	SPATIAL MANOEUVRING		
		Place picking	
			Migrants wanting to live in a particular place
			Migrants living in a particular place
			Migrants wanting to visit, spend time in and/or transit through a particular place
		Operating funds	
			Paying for housing
			Having money
			Owning property
		Keeping safe	
			Authorities determining where migrants live
			Migration actors hiding or fleeing
			Establishment or closure of ad hoc camps and transit camps

			Limiting movement due to security
			Safety during organised or spontaneous movement
			Local residents affecting safety
		Dividing space	
			Privacy
			Interest in education
			Imprisonment
			According to belonging to a group
	ESTABLISHING A NEW NORMAL		
		Cultural customising	
			Cultural products, traditions and related behaviour
			Interaction between men and women
			Changes in personal development
		Family-role adjusting	
			Adult and child relationships
			Changing gender roles
		Being surrounded by the unfamiliar	
			Physical environment
			Interaction between migration actors
			Changing surroundings
	RE-ROOTING HOME		
		Reality checking	
			Changes in conditions in place of origin /home
			Conditions elsewhere

			Psychological challenges
		Hindsighting	
			Remaining in place of origin during conflict
			Remaining in place of asylum
			Remaining in place of origin during peace
		Practical reckoning	
			Organised return
			Spontaneous return
			Wait-and-see
	PROBLEM CONFRONTING		
		Self sustaining	
			Migrants' skills
			Working to earn money
			Employee-employer relationship
			Employment related policies, rules and authority behaviour
		Staying healthy	
			Mental health
			Physical health
			Children's health
		Okaying	
			Facing no problem

This section provides two examples to help the reader understand the way control-tuning paths and the behavioural arena are united. The first example illustrates the occurrence of control in *spatial manoeuvring* through *place picking*. This example demonstrates how a migrant, in this case a recognised refugee, controls choosing a place of resettlement. The steps of the control-tuning path appear in brackets.

A migrant has been offered resettlement in a place to which she has no interest in moving and consequently she *needs to increase* her own *control* and *resist* authority *control* over the placement (control-tuning causes). At the same time, the authority wants to fill the resettlement quota and *needs to diminish* the migrant's *control* over the matter (control-tuning cause). In

order to increase her own control and simultaneously resist the control of the authority, the migrant implements a strategy of *negotiating control* (control-tuning strategy). As the migrant refuses to accept the placement, the authority promotes official objectives through *stating control* (control-tuning strategy) by informing the migrant that if she rejects the placement, she will not be resettled at all. The authority can also *share control* (control-tuning strategy) with the migrant by taking into account the migrant's needs and wants, and *deal with* the *obstructing control* of the migrant (control-tuning strategy) by allowing the migrant to go home and consider the placement. The migrant can then ponder the advantages and disadvantages of living in the particular place of resettlement, and then make a decision. Here, the *intervening factors* influencing the migrant's control-tuning path include the absence of family in the resettlement place (varying factor), stories she has heard about the place (varying factor), her realistic abilities of receiving resettlement elsewhere (control supportive instrument) and the impact of her skin colour and ethnicity on resettlement (basic factors). In addition, opportunities for her children to attend school in the resettlement place (varying factor), means of using social media to be in contact with others in the place of resettlement and elsewhere (control supportive instrument) and the ability to choose her desired place of residence (control supportive instrument) are some of the intervening factors that influence control-tuning paths. When the migrant feels she can choose whether she wants to go to the particular place of resettlement, she has *gained control* (control-tuning outcome). After the discussion with the authority, she may also feel they have *shared control* (control-tuning outcome) because they were able to discuss the matter at the same level. By contrast, when the authority *stated control* by informing the migrant she had no other choice for resettlement than the particular place offered, the migrant may have felt she had *lost control* (control-tuning outcome). Depending on whether she is satisfied with the prevailing control, either a positive or a negative condition arises. If she is satisfied with the situation, with her decision-making possibilities and her place of resettlement, a positive condition appears, and she will seek no further control-tuning strategies to change the prevailing control situation. Conversely, if she is dissatisfied with her control situation, a negative condition arises and she will either continue to use the same control-tuning strategy of *negotiating control* or find a new control-tuning strategy by, for instance, *expressing control*

through some other means. The migrant will stop seeking control-tuning strategies only when she encounters a positive condition. Thus, she either is satisfied with the control-tuning outcome and decides to stop attempting to control the decision related to the resettlement place and accepting the control of the authority, or finds other ways to be resettled elsewhere.

The second example comes from *cultural customising* in *establishing a new normal*. In this example a migrant deals with changes in personal development. The migrant has been unable to participate in schooling in his own country, which affects his ability to find work. Due to the civil war, the migrant needs to move elsewhere within his country, and he becomes an internally displaced person living in one of the IDP camps. He is unable to attend school there, as authorities and local residents refuse to accept him because of his ethnicity and religion. Here, the migrant *needs to deal with* the *obstructing control* of others (control-tuning cause), as he wants to gain an education and qualifications. He can adopt a control-tuning strategy for *handing over control* on the matter to authorities and local residents or he can *resist* their *control* while *increasing* his own *control* (control-tuning strategies) by finding other means of learning. *Intervening factors* such as his ability to interpret the behaviour of authorities and local residents to achieve his aims (control supportive instrument), as well as having the means to use a computer and the Internet (control supportive instrument), affect his ability to learn enough by himself to receive an internship. He carries out an internship and has *gained control* (control-tuning outcome) over the matter until he is dismissed from his internship on the order of authorities and must go into hiding and eventually leave the country in order to *deal with forced control* (control-tuning strategy). In the new place of asylum, the migrant manages to find an employer who is ready to hire him, thus *increasing* his own *control* (control-tuning strategy). After losing his control as an IDP, he has therefore *regained control* (control-tuning outcome) through obtaining work and learning something new in the place of asylum. However, when he is granted resettlement and moves again to a new place in another country, he must once more seek work, as he *has limited or no control* in the new place (control-tuning cause). In order to find work, he must compete in the job market with local residents who all have qualifications and a better education; thus he begins to *doubt his control* (control-tuning strategy). The result is *non-existent control* (control-tuning outcome) over his personal development, as

his education and employment levels (varying factors) are too low and he is unable to speak the local language (control supportive instrument). As he is unable to find work, he has again *lost control* (control-tuning outcome); thus, he is again impelled to *increase* his own *control* (control-tuning cause) and seek control-tuning strategies. During his migration to several destinations and during establishment of a new normal, he has experienced the control-tuning outcome of *fluctuating control* – at times he has gained control and at times lost it, depending on his migration situation. Only when the migrant is satisfied with his situation does he experience a positive condition and there is no need for him to find new control-tuning strategies to change the prevailing control situation.

6.1. Control tuning as part of place coping

In the following, I explain in more detail how *control tuning* occurs in the context of *place coping*. In this section I elaborate the categories (marked with numbers X.X.X.) and properties (marked with numbers X.X.X.X.) of the behavioural arena of *place coping* through the way control and control-tuning paths occur. As the Theory of Control Tuning introduces a fresh perspective to connecting migration-related issues, understanding this connection between the theoretical and the empirical is very important. In this section, I illustrate *control tuning* in the context of *place coping* with quotations from interviews and from my field diaries and memos written during the development of the Theory. It is important to understand that manifold control-tuning paths occur in migration. In *place coping*, these control-tuning paths can appear separately, overlap or occur simultaneously. This section of the behavioural arena shows the issues in relation to what control-tuning paths arise. The examples of control-tuning paths I provide in this section are only some that exist. Appendix 8 shows more connections of control-tuning paths in the behavioural arena. The main concern and the Theory's sub-core categories, categories and properties emerged from the data, and they provide one way of viewing the behaviour of migration actors in relation to space and place.

6.1.1. Multi routing

> I came to Uganda in April 1994. To Arua I came in March 1996. When I first left my home town, I ran away in 1990. We ran from there [South Sudan] to Central Africa. From there we crossed to Congo where we stayed for three years in Eastern part of Congo. . . We stayed in a particular area but there were no medicine or health care and no schooling for our children. Some of the kids died there. Then we decided to walk to Uganda on foot, it took three months. We came to Arua and we were registered there and then taken by UNHCR near the border with South Sudan. . . We stayed there for one week. Then we were transferred to a real camp in Kopoko. Then when the war was between SPLA [Sudan People's Liberation Army] and the government of Sudan, they [both parties of war] were trying to capture Yei. They were using guns and made us to run from Kopoko to Arua. We reached here in 1996. (FN UGA 050106/5)

Control tuning in relation to *place coping* occurs in *multi routing*. The processing of control occurs particularly in connection to *exiting* and *document solutioning*. *Exiting* explains control in terms of both the emotional and practice-based issues of moving from an area or place, across borders and in relation to situations. These movements can be either from free will or as coerced. *Document solutioning* introduces what it means to control the acquisition of documents in various ways in order to exit.

6.1.1.1. Exiting

> I left from Wau with all my children. All nine, only one died in Khartoum. At that time people escaped and made contact with a car that came to pick up the poor people. Soldiers were driving the cars and sick people came along. After five days we came to Khartoum by land. Then another day you sleep when the rebels are not moving. When they move, you move. Because they kill too. Even when you go by car they still shoot . . . you sleep down in the car. If you sit they can kill and they killed many of us. It is rebels shooting – it is a war. It was very difficult, even among us they killed. We did not all arrive to Khartoum. Children they kill. They shoot the car when we go, when

> anyone attack you, you can die. Rebels were not against us, they were fighting with soldiers. (FN EGY R 261005/1)

Control tuning while *exiting* is one of the most important issues in *place coping*, as it occurs in migration on a regular basis and through several control-tuning paths in relation to various causes. *Exiting* reveals the multifaceted challenges and actions related to egressing a space, place and/or a situation. *Exiting* is extremely important in all migration, but it is especially significant when it occurs unexpectedly, rapidly and by using different means of *exiting* (like by foot, by car etc.). *Exiting* is often challenging due to the actions of others and a lack of exit possibilities. Authority control is at the core of *exiting*, and it affects migration actors in many ways. Although *exiting* is extremely important in *multi routing*, the significance of entering spaces, places and situations should also be emphasised.

There are several situations where the control of *exiting* occurs. One involves the way migration actors deal with control through managing people with fear and insecurity. This occurs primarily from two perspectives. From the standpoint of authorities, this often means promoting fear and insecurity in order to control migrants and local residents and thereby either promote or reject *exiting*; from the perspective of migrants and local residents, this means experiencing another's control through fear and insecurity in relation to *exiting*. Anyone who has some type of authority in a situation or given place can engage in controlling *exiting* by fear and insecurity. Controlling by fear and insecurity occurs through rape, murder, torture and abuse and can also occur through, for example, burning homes and threats. Control-tuning outcomes involve determining who can exit and who cannot, who can stay alive and who is killed. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes are often different for migrants and local residents than for authorities. Whereas successfully hiding or fleeing is a positive outcome for local residents and migrants, for authorities a good control-tuning outcome may include successfully harming others. Here, the intervening factors affecting control-tuning paths include emotions like fear of attack and death, authorities' ability to capture larger geographical areas, and acceptance of using rape and torture as methods of war.

> Fleeing from Yei [South Sudan] to Arua [Uganda] meant that, as we were escaping by foot, that our belongings and the elder girls could have been taken by SPLA [Sudan People's Liberation Army]. Fleeing from Arua [Uganda] due to Cony rebels [who] were burning people inside houses and again people were forced to leave. Individuals were being affected by conflicts across the borders and in both countries. In some cases [the conflicts] of more than two countries. (FN UGA R 071205/3)

Controlling *exiting* also occurs in connection with political decisions and policies. When *control tuning* involves political decisions and policies, a stark contrast often exists between migrants' attempts to rebel against the control of authorities at state, regional and local levels, and the efforts of authorities to increase control over migrants through political decisions and policies. Whereas authorities often promote new policies for handling migrants and migration movements, migrants try to control the changes linked to political decisions and policies in relation to *exiting*. In conflict-related migration, one of the most significant reasons for *exiting* due to political decisions and policies is forced recruitment into state military service or guerrilla groups. Some control-tuning outcomes are linked to understanding the impact of new policies on oneself, fluctuation in migration movements due to political decisions and policies and being in the military against one's will. Here, the intervening factors that contribute to control-tuning outcomes are, for example, the political views of oneself and others, the level of violence and abuse and the ability to understand and interpret.

Control-tuning paths connected with *exiting* due to involuntary migration are present particularly when human smuggling and human trafficking are involved. Child soldiers, child slaves, forced labour and sex slaves who have involuntarily become part of migration movements, as well as the human smugglers and human traffickers exploiting them, respond to their own and others' control-tuning. Control-tuning paths can occur through various control-tuning strategies. Whereas human traffickers and human smugglers seek to enhance their control, forced migrants and local residents can rebel against or facilitate the control of others, or enhance their own control while *exiting*:

> Conflicts with a neighbouring ethnic group lead to stealing cattle and children. Abductions are common. After an abduction and becoming a slave, escaping [from being a slave in a family] includes building trust with the host family and then using that trust to escape. People may help along the way by giving information about the area, giving money for a bus or a train ticket, and using their relationships with other people to assist in further escape routes. Sometimes escaping one family leads to a near-slavery situation in another family when the person is forced to work long days without any breaks to earn a living or to earn at least some food after having escaped a family and a place. This may lead to another escape from another family. (FN EGY R 151005/2)

Here, the control-tuning outcomes are often dissatisfactory. In relation to forced migrants, they include their continuing to work with a heavy workload and experiencing abuse from their "owners", increased mental and physical problems and moving from one bad situation to a similarly poor situation. A satisfactory control-tuning outcome for a forced migrant normally relates to a successful exit from a difficult situation and an area of captivity. Intervening factors include the availability of suitable individuals for human trafficking and misuse, the characteristics of "slave owners", human traffickers and smugglers, the amount of work/services expected and the availability of assistance.

Exiting for better safety and protection often relates to the issues of managing people with fear and insecurity. Especially when a conflict breaks out, there is an increased need to find control-tuning paths in order to exit for better safety and protection. Migration actors embark on control-tuning paths despite the risks. Human smugglers are used for *exiting*, migration actors aim to find organisations and people elsewhere for protection through *multi routing*, and they seek solutions to avoid rape, death and torture. Again, the control-tuning paths can be either satisfactory or dissatisfactory. Migrants are sometimes safe, whereas sometimes they are in danger. Finding protection and reaching a place where there is no more fighting are satisfactory practical control-tuning outcomes. Experiencing abuse, losing family members, relatives or friends, rejection in a desired status determination process, and continuing to live in limbo represent dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes. Types of routes and terrain, document requests, financial means and the

ability to beat surveillance systems can all affect control-tuning paths as intervening factors.

In relation to *control tuning*, forced relocation involves the need to manage *exiting* in relation to the demolition of a place of residence and the relocation of migration actors. Relocation often means moving to areas further away from population centres and can cause other types of *exiting*, such as the need to exit employment, school or medical assistance:

> When the UN agency asked where the state was going to move these people and went to see the place, the UN discovered there were no services, only two water wells. One school and a health centre are under construction. There is nothing there. There are more than 300 000 people there and there are only two wells. Soba Aridi is about 20 kilometres from Khartoum centre, and the state wants to move people far, over 60 kilometres away. People say that now they have their children near in a school and may have a job near, plus they have good relations with others in Soba Aradi. They cannot move just like that. People say they built their houses on their own and got used to the place. It is difficult for them to move just like that. That's why they fought the police. The state did not give any time for people beforehand, they received no consent. (FN SUD A 121105/1)

As with political decisions and policies, here too migration actors often contradict each other. This is understandable, as forced relocations are normally a political decision or policy. Control-tuning outcomes are often dissatisfactory for migrants and local residents, even when they do their best to rebel against authority control. Migrants and local residents may have no other choice than to move elsewhere or to stay put after authorities leave. Often *control tuning* leads to protestors being injured or killed in clashes. On the other hand, for authorities, experiences of satisfactory outcomes with enhanced control often occur, as from their perspective they have successfully relocated people or demolished unwanted slums and residences. Here, the intervening factors include pre-notice of relocation from authorities, the level of surprise regarding the demolition of an area and the behaviour of different migration actors during forced relocation.

> Soba Aradi is not an official camp. Demolition took place in May. There were people who lost their houses after living there 20 years. This area is close to Mayo. The police started to demolish it without finding places for the people. IDPs were told to move to Suntus, south from Jebel Awelia, which is more than an hour and a half by bus. People were forced to move from the area, so people fought against police and killed about 40 police officers. 105 IDPs are now in prison, including four women still; some were released. The women do not know their crimes. They are accused of crimes against the state, which they do not understand. The women claim that police officers came to demolish the place, and all the women did was shout at them. (FN SUD A 121105/1)

Another issue in *multi routing* that accounts for the control of *place coping* in relation to *exiting* concerns decreased possibility for well-being in everyday life. When a person is unable to satisfy basic needs like schooling or medical assistance in his/her everyday life, attempts to exit the situation and/or a place frequently occur. Here, the control-tuning paths for *exiting* are not only utilised by migrants but also by local residents, who may blame migrants for their own problems. *Control tuning* in relation to decreased possibility for well-being in everyday life often concerns life and death, especially when control-tuning paths are linked to *exiting* for medical attention and nutrition.

> Children are not vaccinated, as there are no vaccination points or people are unaware of them. MSF, UNICEF and Care International have health centres and have informed people of their existence. Many from the South came only because they heard about the centre in camps. They come with sick children, so they come here for treatment. (FN SUD A 121105/1)

Here, some examples of satisfactory control-tuning outcomes are, for instance, a better standard of living after *exiting* and successfully obtaining services and/or personal development. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes occur, for example, in connection with reaching services too late, suffering interrupted schooling and remaining in a place because there is no possibility of exit. The availability of food and water, the level of hunger, thirst

and sickness, as well as the availability of services in an area, are some of the issues which affect the control-tuning paths.

Employment is a common reason for controlling *exiting* in migration. However, *exiting* for employment does not mean only moving from one place to another or crossing borders between places to obtain work; rather, it also entails continuing to work in an area of conflict, natural disaster or poverty where others are *exiting* for migration, as well as *exiting* employment situations, such as resigning from a job due to harassment or abuse. In disputes between migrants and employers, authorities often use control to benefit the employer at the cost of the migrant. *Exiting* for employment is more difficult in conflict-induced migration than in the case of peaceful migration, even though authority control, for example in relation to acquired documents, exists in both. Here, the control-tuning strategies vary from enhancing one's own control and rebelling against the control of others to *sharing control* and *facilitating control*. In relation to *exiting* for employment, the intervening factors include the availability of employment, gender roles, qualifications and distance between places.

The status determination process relating to *control tuning* in *exiting* presents another reason for adopting various control-tuning paths. Status determination refers to the processing and determining of a person's legal status by a state or mandated organisation. Often this means an asylum seeker seeking for protection but in employment-induced status determination process, a person may be assessed for qualifications to obtain a work visa. When migrants apply for asylum, a state or organisation must decide if they are legal refugees and thus allowed protection. If a person is not considered legally entitled to protection, that person can be asked to leave the country or can be granted temporary protection. In connection to controlling *exiting*, a migrant usually wants to exit an area by obtaining refugee status and resettlement, a work visa or acceptance from a school, thus gaining legal status can be a way to achieve a satisfactory control-tuning outcome. *Exiting* also occurs when the place of residence of an asylum-seeker or a refugee is far from the office responsible for processing person's status. Thus, they may exit the current place of residence and move closer to that office. *Exiting* a place sometimes also occurs when there is information that authorities will terminate the status determination process in a particular place. The possibility *of exiting* in order to live in a destination like a resettlement country

through gaining legal status can then trigger people to enhance their control through becoming more actively involved in the status determination process:

> Until this demonstration, we [UNHCR] were receiving 120 to 150 Sudanese every day – every day! New arrivals! And more we start receiving this year than we were receiving last year. Which arises a question – because the Sudanese government starts to encourage or push people [from internal displacement] to south. Voluntarily or forcibly to the south. So they start coming [to Egypt]. Others also, they [asylum seekers] felt that resettlement will start to close down. Third group starts coming because their friends and relatives in the west encourage them to go to the west. (FN EGY A 171005/1)

For migrants, controlling *exiting* in relation to the status determination process results control-tuning outcomes such as a *lacking control* over receiving non-preferred status, receiving no resettlement, feelings of disappointment and an authority closing their status case. On the other hand, when migrants' cases are easy to verify and the necessary documents are provided, they may receive preferred status through a relatively easy control-tuning path. Here, the intervening factors include, for example, the availability of certificates and witnesses, the behaviour of office staff, emotions like frustration and the ability to understand the status determination process.

Controlling *exiting* often involves strong feelings in connection to a place or people. When loved ones and/or other migrants are living elsewhere or when a person dislikes the current place of residence, this can lead to *exiting*. When a loved one or an important person has already migrated elsewhere, a person can feel the need to exit to be connected or re-connected with that person or people. In this case, control-tuning paths very often involve *shared control*, which helps to achieve a satisfactory outcome. In regard to disliking the current area of residence or wanting to move where others are living, *control tuning* in relation to *exiting* often appears in *multi routing*. Control of *exiting* related to disliking the current place of residence can occur at any stage of *multi routing* and in various types of places. Here, *control tuning* related to *exiting* is influenced, for instance, by *negative tagging*, information obtained on a particular place and communication with authorities.

> [L]ike the life here [in Finland] is not different from the life in Lebanon. They are forced to do it [stay put] and they don't want to do it. Because when we came, we were told that Finland is a country of freedom and you can say what you want and nobody is forcing you to do something. So we had people who did not want to live here but they were forced to live here, and as a result, [there are] problems every day among ourselves and with Finnish people. Even some were about to hang themselves because they did not want to be here, they want to be moved from here! So I think this is one of the things, which was not done properly. (FN FIN R 080605/1)

Controlling *exiting* is closely related to *re-rooting home*, which is one of the categories of *place coping*. *Exiting* in connection with return movements refers to *exiting* in order to return to various places, such as those of origin, transit or asylum. From the perspective of a migrant, control-tuning paths in return movements concern pondering the wisdom of *exiting* a place in order to return somewhere else. Controlling *exiting* involves questions like whether it is best for the family to leave the current place, whether it is now possible to return after the enemy has left a particular area or what will happen if the return is unsuccessful – will there be a need to exit again? Migration actors utilise control-tuning paths in both organised and spontaneous return, and depending on the type of return, the strength of authority and migrant control may vary. In organised return, authorities exert greater control over *exiting*, whereas in spontaneous return the process is controlled predominantly by migrants. Controlling *exiting* in relation to return movements is affected by intervening factors such as the living conditions in a particular place, the results of go-and-see visits and emotions like longing for return.

The *control tuning* of *exiting* appears to be a common practice: for many, controlling *exiting* has occurred over a long period of time and is considered a norm of life. In practice, this can mean, for example, that a particular ethnic group has lived on both sides of a state or regional border for hundreds of years or that a conflict interrupts people's lives on a regular basis, thereby causing them to exit frequently. The control-tuning paths found in relation to *exiting* as a common practice are at times characterised by new or strengthened border surveillance measures, such as an increase in checkpoints or surveillance technology. Moreover, humanitarian organisations distributing

aid also face the control of *exiting* as a common practice. The control-tuning paths are influenced, among others, by the creation of international and internal borders, the level of conflict and threat, the ability to co-operate and the level of interest in continuing old traditions.

In addition to the previously mentioned factors generating *exiting*-related control-tuning paths, sometimes there is no need to exit. In this case, there is no need to change the prevailing control in relation to *exiting*, as migration actors are able to lead their lives without *exiting* borders, areas or situations. However, it should be noted that even if there is no current need to exit, the situation can rapidly change, and then control-tuning paths must be adopted.

6.1.1.2. Document solutioning

The *control tuning* of *multi routing* also occurs in relation to *document solutioning*. Control is directed at acquiring documents in a fully legal way, acquiring documents in a semi-legal or illegal way and acquiring no documents. Acquiring documents is often linked to *exiting* a state and crossing international borders. Controlling *exiting* is very important in *multi routing*, but there is also an aspect of entering areas and situations, which is closely connected to *exiting*. In addition, *document solutioning* includes *control tuning* to obtain documents for *exiting* situations and other places than countries. As obtaining documents for *exiting*, and also for entering, is often difficult, controlling *document solutioning* becomes an important way of expressing who is in power.

Acquiring documents in a fully legal way explains how migration actors manage control in the acquisition of documents according to bureaucratic rules. For instance, authorities can require migrants and local residents to present supporting documents from an employer, school, family or other parties in order to obtain a visa to for *exiting* and/or entering. Migrants and local residents *need* often *relinquish control* and trust authorities in order to obtain a document for migration. Acquiring documents in a fully legal way means that migrants and local residents attempt to follow procedures and control the process in order to obtain a document. By contrast, authorities have the power to determine the role of migrants and local residents in the document-issuing process. The control-tuning paths between authorities and those applying for a document can be somewhat equal where both have

designated roles as required by legal procedures for document processing. However, sometimes one migration actor, quite often a public authority, has an interest in promoting its control over the other actors in the process, for example by bending the rules. Here, the control-tuning paths of authorities involve enhancing their own control through *showing who is in control*, *claiming control* or by *forcing control*. Those with less control must adopt control-tuning paths to deal with authority control and convince authorities of the reasons and need for travel. A migration actor may have no other option than to accept authorities' arbitrary behaviour or requests for additional supporting documents in order for him/her to secure control by acquiring the necessary documents for migrating legally. When a migrant or a local resident has *non-existent control* and fails to receive legal documents for migration, this can lead to the acquisition of documents in either a semi-legal or illegal way or *exiting* and entering areas without documents. The control-tuning paths in relation to acquiring documents in a fully legal way are influenced by, for instance, the conditions for an exit/entrance visa, negotiating abilities, the ability to understand procedures, the characteristics of authorities, such as arrogance, as well as emotions like mistrust.

The *control tuning* of *multi routing* through *document solutioning* also occurs by acquiring documents in a semi-legal or illegal way. This happens when migration actors are forced to obtain documents through illegal or semi-legal actions performed either by themselves or by someone from whom they are receiving assistance. These actions include, among others, using semi-official agencies, such as travel agencies, to obtain real or counterfeit legal documents in order not to deal with direct control of authorities responsible for issuing documents, or by bribing an official to allow them to cross a border in the official's car or to cross by way of the official's connections. Thus, controlling *document solutioning* for *exiting* or entering successfully and migrating safely occurs by possessing legal documents that have been obtained in a semi-legal or an illegal way, or by *exiting* and entering with the help of authority control in a semi-legal or illegal way.

> The problem in Egypt is that if you have shortage of money they don't let you [to exit a place for entering another country]. The shortage was just one pound but for Egyptians it was a big money. . . . My son was caught and put into custody by the Egyptian police in Aswan. They

> were insisting that they need the passport of this kid. Some Sudanese said that if I give this passport, it will be the end – I will not get this passport back. The Sudanese are good people and they have good relations. One of them took one pound and added to the money I had. And the money [to the police] was paid. . . . Then my son was able to come with me. (FN Memo FIN 020505/2)

> When I made the documents, I connected an agency. . . . it is an agency that helps people to travel easily. In the end I got a ticket to the train and I took the train to Halfa arriving on 23rd. I took all the documents to the agency, which would finish with the whole process. And then I would take the steamer. The agency did whatever needed, also the security. Then I was given the documents and told to go to the steamer. Then on 25th I got to Aswan. From Aswan to Cairo I took the microbus, I had 100 Egyptian pounds from Sudan. Instead of paying for the microbus I decided to give the driver the passport, which he could use at the duty free shop [for buying things for his own use]. Then my money was still there [for later use]. (FN EGY R 121005/5)

The participation of authorities in the illegal or semi-legal assistance of migrants can be discovered by officials in a higher position of control, leading them to consider the migration actor's movements illegal. This often leads to a migrant's deportation to their place of origin or to another place. It can also lead to the dismissal of the authority concerned. In both cases, the control-tuning paths lead to dissatisfactory outcomes. In addition, control-tuning paths related to acquiring documents in a semi-legal or illegal way lead to dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes when, for example, the person or the company offering illegal or semi-legal assistance in *document solutioning* is apprehended by authorities and suffers at the hands of authority control. Issues like the availability of travel agencies and/or the necessary connections, the level of acceptance of corruption, the availability of assistance and previous experiences of acquiring documents in a legal or illegal way influence the control-tuning paths of migration actors.

When migration actors, normally migrants or would-be migrants, have heard about someone else's failed attempts to obtain documents in a legal, semi-legal or illegal way, or they do not consider such means a possibility but still want to migrate, controlling *document solutioning* occurs by acquiring no

documents. To obtaining a satisfactory control-tuning outcome related to successful migration, acquiring no documents can also result from the aim of *resisting control*, especially that of regional and state authorities. This normally occurs by seeking assistance for moving across borders and areas. This assistance sometimes includes human smugglers. However, human smugglers are also authorities when it comes to controlling a migrant's position. Thus, migrants must *accept* the *control* of a human smuggler in order to have a chance to move on. When a person wants to engage in *multi routing* without documents, s/he discovers the best ways of controlling *exiting*, entering and moving without documents, such as beating surveillance systems. Migration actors may need to bribe authorities and use any available networks in order to move between areas. Control through acquiring no documents may result in dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes when a migrant faces negative experiences, such as documents or belongings being stolen en route, or when s/he experiences abuse or even death. On the other hand, acquiring no documents benefits those who steal belongings, thus providing them with satisfactory control-tuning outcomes. Acquiring no documents for *multi routing* often leads to problems in *exiting*, such as lacking the money to pay for a human smuggler's assistance. As controlling *multi routing* without legal documents is challenging, many migration actors make several attempts to migrate by *exiting* and entering a place or places in order to *gain control* over various aspects of their lives. Nevertheless, avoiding official processing of documents can also enhance migration actors' ability to engage in *multi routing* as migration actors may avoid the direct control of authorities. The control-tuning paths related to acquiring no documents often require more dependence on others' assistance than when an actor acquires documents in a fully legal way.

> I arranged how to go to Lebanon by an illegal way. I paid at that time a lot of money, 300 dollars. It's very tough to go. Sometimes there is fighting between government and those people [smugglers], sometimes. And sometimes even people die. Sometimes in the river . . . you have to cross this river to Lebanon. . . . There are maybe three or four ways [of crossing the border]. There are some people like they have authority in the government. If you are going with those people [it] is a little bit easier because you are going the real way with . . . what

> can I say . . . in an official way with him or with her in his or hers own car. But you will pay a lot of money. We moved during nights. Everything at night. Not at all during day. I think we were three women and two men. . . . Unfortunately, we got to Lebanon only four [of us], there is one woman who stayed at the border and they [authorities] caught her later. I don't know what happened. . . . After two days you entered Lebanon. It is not distant but because you are coming at night, you have to spend [time] in alley places inside the rocks. You have to spend there all the day. And at night then you start again your programme, at night time [you move]. . . . You have to take something to drink and eat with you. . . . Smugglers were with us all the time. There were two of them. (FN FIN R 080605/3)

In *document solutioning*, *control tuning* also occurs in relation to acquiring documents for *exiting* other than a country. This refers to a migration actor requiring documents to exit other places than a country or various situations, for example, employment, a refugee camp, a school or certain problems. Migration actors adopt control-tuning paths that enable them to resign from work in order to flee a place or finish their school and obtain a school certificate before *exiting*. Obtaining a document to exit and enter a place, like a refugee camp, is seen as a positive request if it is performed in order to keep residents safe, such as by preventing outsiders from entering the camp. Here authority control is often accepted by those migration actors who need to obtain documents.

> In Uganda at the settlement level refugees say that if they have to exit the settlement they need permission from state authorities to leave. However, most had not felt this was difficult and permission could be easily obtained. This is as long as you have a good reason for *exiting* the settlement. (Memo UGA 110714/21)

A document is often required for entering a building, such as that of an organisation or state authority carrying out status determination. In this way, authorities control who can meet them and when, thus, who can enter and exit the premises.

> Then I went there [to the UNHCR office]. It was very cold and there were many people, and of course I had to sleep there at the UN, we slept there. [Near] the fence of the UN. You go with a blanket and then you can catch the line in the morning. If you don't sleep there and reach there at seven o'clock when people are already there, and the line is long, you don't get a card which gives access to the premises of the UNHCR. So it is better you go there very early and sleep there. Very early in the morning and when they [UN staff] issue cards you have to get it. (Memo 150114/20)

Migration actors can have various experiences of processes related to acquiring documents for *exiting* or entering a place or situation other than a country. Therefore, both satisfactory and dissatisfactory *control tuning* experiences are normally present. Control in connection with acquiring documents for *exiting* a place or situation other than a country includes intervening factors such as the ability to handle fear and threats, the presence of offices granting documents, as well as safety in refugee camps and surrounding areas.

6.1.2. Place sensing

> In Finland I am really free. I am more or less like in Sudan, southern Sudan even before the war. It is the same thing now that I am in Finland. I think I am really at home. Free, free, free – completely. (Memo 130114/29)

The control of *place sensing* underlines the significance of the *freedom to choose* and *emotional ride* in migration movements and distinct places. The will and feelings of migration actors are at the centre of *place sensing*, as they provide meaning to places and prioritise them over others. Controlling the *freedom to choose* and *emotional ride* are often significant when people take a decision on migration to a particular place, but they also strongly influence control related to their everyday lives in their current place of residence.

6.1.2.1. Freedom to choose

> Really in Sudan it was something but here we call it a freedom. We have come to freedom here. Because we can do what we want, you can say what hurts you and you can choose what to do. (FN FIN R 290405/3)

Controlling the *freedom to choose* is vital in migration, and it plays an especially important role in migration movements triggered by incidents beyond the control of individual actors, such as conflicts. A conflict brings an element of force to the control of migration, which explains why one's own freedom to think and act is highlighted during migration movements. However, force is normally also part of non-conflict-induced migration. The *freedom to choose* appears in relation to choosing to be or not be in a relationship, choosing how to develop skills, choosing a belief and selecting with whom to *local mingle*. The latter refers to a friendship or being in connection with other people in a particular place. The level of control over the *freedom to choose* can vary according to specific places and stages of migration. In some places and stages of migration, migration actors have more *freedom to choose* how to act and think, whereas in other places freedom is more limited. *Establishing a new normal*, which is another category of *control tuning*, is inter-related with the *freedom to choose*, as *cultural customising*, *family-role adjusting* and *being surrounded by the unfamiliar* may influence a person's freedoms and vice versa.

Controlling the *freedom to choose* occurs through choosing to be or not be in a relationship. Migrants may have fewer or greater possibilities to control their decisions on relationships than in their place of origin or other previous places of residence during migration. Often (though not always), migrants must follow the same rules as local residents and authorities in the current place of residence, such the country of asylum, transit or resettlement. However, migrants may maintain, alongside new practices, their previous traditions in connection to relationships. They may also hide their previous traditions from local residents of new places of residence but keep practicing them. *Control tuning* in relation to choosing to be or not be in a relationship occurs in relation to getting married, remaining married, getting divorced and remaining in and leaving a dating relationship. Different actors often

challenge each other by one enhancing his/her control and the other rebelling against it. Moreover, control situations and control-tuning paths can change when moving from one place to another: as new actors are involved, new controlling outcomes appear. For example, if a migrant was earlier unable to obtain a divorce from an abusive marriage in a place of asylum, thereby experiencing no control, his or her right to divorce might be supported by local laws, authorities and local residents after moving to a place of resettlement. That person would then be able to divorce and thus experience *gained control*.

> Sudanese and Egyptian cultures are different. In [South] Sudan you can have [a relationship between] a man and a woman being different religions, Muslims and Christians, but in Egypt no. In [South] Sudan a rich man can marry a poor woman but in Egypt no. If a person is intelligent in [South] Sudan he can go to university but in Egypt no. It is a custom of Egyptians – it is about inheriting father's occupation. But in [South] Sudan there can be a change [between generations]. (Memo 240414/6)

In migration, different actors are involved in controlling choosing how, where and when to develop skills. Obtaining education and skills is part of controlling *place sensing*, as places are given meaning in terms of opportunities for developing skills. Here, the control-tuning causes include responding to one's own lack of control and responding to the control of another. Migrants see migration as a means of enhancing control over acquiring skills, even though the control-tuning paths adopted may not result in the desired control-tuning outcome. For instance, an illiterate person might feel overwhelmed by the challenging situation of living in a society where everyone can read and write, thus s/he may *step back from control* as s/he realises that there is no possibility of reaching the level in literacy attained by others. That person may end up with *non-existent control* over many matters of personal importance, as communication in that society occurs mainly in written form. In different places, authorities can pave the way for migration actors' control over their skill development by providing opportunities for education. Authorities can also enhance their own control by determining the topics migration actors can and should learn, as well as by creating education-related policies which do not benefit migrants but favour local residents. The

possibilities for controlling skill development vary at different stages and places of migration; thus there is a need for a variety of control-tuning paths to manage the issue.

> Staying in Uganda as a mature person I have grabbed something that has changed my life. I can use the skills with my family or in Sudan, where ever I am going from Uganda (FN UGA R 050106/4)

Controlling choosing a belief becomes particularly important when migrants realise that their own beliefs or religion are in contradiction with those of the host society in a particular place. Moreover, when authorities and/or local residents enforce a particular religion and when a migrant considers it important to change or retain his/her religion, several control-tuning paths arise. Authorities can enhance their control over the beliefs of migrants, and sometimes local residents, by, for instance, promoting particular school curriculums, bribing individuals to change their religion and threatening violence. Migrants and local residents may *accept* authority *control* by agreeing to change their beliefs or by not mingling with people of the "wrong" religion. Migrants can also attempt to control their beliefs and those of others by doing their best to understand the similarities and differences between their beliefs and those of others. The contradictions between the belief systems of migrants and the local population can be so great that in order to control their freedom of religion, migrants must find ways to exit the place or go into hiding. In severe cases, the only way migrants can control their position in a society with different beliefs is to take extreme measures, such as attacking others in order to promote their own beliefs. Here, some of the factors affecting control-tuning paths are the availability of human rights for practising one's beliefs, knowledge of other places and religions and belonging to a majority/minority group in the area.

Selecting with whom to *local mingle* refers to the possibilities for choosing with whom, where and when a migration actor can interact or make friends in a particular place. Controlling being with relatives and friends and meeting new people in a particular place can be influenced by distance, traditions, attitude towards other people, and authority orders and policies. *Control tuning* in relation to selecting with whom to *local mingle* varies according to the migration actors, their destination and their ability to visit one another or

move to the same destination. Furthermore, controlling where to work affects the possibilities for *local mingling*. Migration can also be a way out of *local mingling* with people one wishes to avoid. Selecting with whom to *local mingle* is very much tied to the place in which people live and spend time, but it is also strongly linked to *place sensing*, as places receive different meanings when people have lived and spent time there. Controlling with whom to *local mingle* in a particular place strongly affects migration actors' feelings and well-being. Control-tuning outcomes are satisfactory when a migration actor controls with whom to *local mingle* and has the right to choose what s/he wants. Dissatisfactory outcomes include a *lack of control* caused by someone else determining with whom an actor can *local mingle*.

6.1.2.2. Emotional ride

> You know, after a few weeks or four weeks . . . I [am] still like someone who is on powerful drugs – I don't know where I am. Confused. No language. I can't sleep at night. Lot of thinking. You know when you move from a country to country, many things can happen to you emotionally. . . . It was good that we came during summer as I had energy to do things. So I went to the basketball, I played until 10 at night. Then I came back and I slept tight a little bit. Closed my eyes. (Memo 080605/47)

Controlling *place sensing* is explained by migration actors' *emotional ride*. *Emotional ride* illustrates the role of home in *control tuning* – how home and its meanings are controlled in migration. *Emotional ride* also describes how legal and adopted statuses in various places are controlled by migrants and local residents and how authorities contribute to controlling statuses. In *place sensing*, migration actors' memories and feelings help explain *control tuning* in relation to places.

> My home is a place where I can be settled permanently and I can have my family and relatives there. That is home for me. Now I am just staying here, I am just staying. If there would be any better place. . . (FN UGA R 081205/2)

In controlling *emotional ride*, home is particularly significant to migrants, as they have moved to a different place or places and because what they consider home can vary depending on the specific place. Home usually includes the people who live in a given place, most commonly family members, relatives and friends. Home is also important for local residents and authorities in relation to migration, especially if they feel their home is threatened by migrants or when their home is a place that welcomes migrants. When migrants consider the nature and location of home, homeland and/or their own land – as well as who is a migrant in relation to home – several control-tuning causes arise, requiring various control-tuning paths. Controlling emotions in relation to home is often challenging, especially if an actor sees home as a place with significant positive experiences and meanings while living in difficult circumstances elsewhere, such as in a place of asylum or transit, which s/he cannot call a home. However, controlling *emotional ride* is even more problematic if thinking about home involves images related to conflict, such as rape, torture or the murder of loved ones or others. Migration and living away from home can cause negative *emotional ride* with dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes, but it can also contribute to satisfactory control-tuning outcomes with *gained* or *regained control* arising from the freedom to choose how home and other people form part of one's life. Home is not simply a migrant's place of origin; it can also be elsewhere, such as in a place of resettlement or asylum. As some migrants state, "home is here but the heart is there" – home might be considered more physical than emotional in one's current place of residence, but the positive emotions and memories remain in one's place of origin, where one grew up or a place one has learned to think of as an important through discussions with loved ones. To deal with their own control situation, people can enhance their control by intentionally building a home and emotional attachment to that home in a new place, especially if it is somewhere they plan to stay for a long time. Dealing with home-related control can be also eased and enhanced by *re-rooting home*. Control is influenced, for instance, by the types of relationships one has with family, friends and relatives, the type of environment, traditions and the ability to understand and interpret.

Legal and adopted statuses in different places generate the feelings that explain different control-tuning paths in *emotional ride*. There is often a divide between legal status and emotionally experienced status, which

together determine practical issues like receiving assistance and the type of treatment experienced. Legal status refers to those official categories through which migrants are classified due to their situation and experiences or due to their place of origin or current place of residence. These categories follow official agreements, policies, laws and conventions. Adopted status, on the other hand, refers to the status given to an actor by other migrants and surrounding people or by him/her-self, thus, labelling people into categories. Adopted status is thus determined by local residents, authorities and migrants themselves on the basis, for example, of people's appearance, place of residence and history. As one migrant explained, "I am a refugee because I left my country and I am in a place of someone else and there are many difficulties in life" (FN UGA R 081205/1). Consequently, terms such as refugee, internally displaced person, asylum seeker and economic migrant may have either a legal or feeling-based basis. Control is connected to the need to understand one's own status in relation to the different stages of migration or to other people, and the practical implications of having a particular status. Control-tuning paths also relate to authorities promoting statuses through bureaucracy and particular events and local residents using statuses for their own purposes, such as for *negative tagging*.

> In Sudan we were called internally displaced people [IDP]. So when I left Sudan and came to Egypt I was no longer an IDP but I am now a refugee. When I came to Khartoum I was in the internally displaced persons' place. In the end the government demolished the IDP area so I had to stay as a normal Sudanese. (Memo 290405/38)

Emotional ride is a significant component of *place coping* in relation to legal and adopted statuses. For example, when migrants suffer from *having limited or no control* due to living in limbo in a place like that of asylum, they might demand change in relation to their legal statuses and problems in everyday life. Migrants can protest by occupying a particular place, such as a park, in order to *claim control*. Migrants might feel they deserve a particular status due to having left their place of origin, for struggling to cope in a new place and for *needing to increase* their *own control*. They may feel entitled to another status because they belong to an ethnic group, which has left its homeland, thus causing them to *fear* the *control* of others in the place of

asylum. Here, the control-tuning paths seldom result in satisfactory control-tuning outcomes for migrants in terms of a positive change in legal status. Thus, a migrant often continues to live as an asylum seeker or a refugee in a place of asylum without the possibility of receiving a legal status that provides better opportunities. Alternatively, there might be a conflict between a migrant's adopted and legal status that leads to a dissatisfactory control-tuning outcome and negatively affects the migrant's *emotional ride*. Authorities are normally in complete control when it comes to legal statuses. Local residents who oppose having migrants living nearby often experience satisfactory control-tuning outcomes when it comes to enhancing their control over that of migrants. In relation to legal and adopted statuses, control of *emotional ride* is impacted, for example, by the manner in which local residents, authorities and other migrants view the migrant, the ability to understand legal and adopted statuses, experiences during migration movements and the ability to deal with status-determining authorities. Furthermore, migrants and other migration actors define the statuses of local residents and authorities on the basis of, for example, their nationality, position at work, age and ethnicity.

Memories related to places play a great part in *emotional ride*. Control-tuning causes mainly arise from people's need to respond to their own control situation, rather than to the control situation of others. In order to control place memories, it is necessary to transmit memories to other generations and/or deal with memories from the place of origin and other previous places while integrating into a new host society. In conflict-induced migration, migrants often suffer from psychological problems caused by traumatic memories like witnessing a murder, being raped or fearing for their lives. Promoting one's own control of memories related to places occurs either by remembering places and related experiences in order to preserve their memory or by trying to forget them. Moreover, migrants often pass on memories of places and place-related experiences to their children through teaching the culture, language and knowledge of a place. To facilitate their own control, migrants work towards obtaining inner peace with memories from their past and connecting them with current experiences and future events through discussion and remembering. Living with people from similar backgrounds or giving new places place names from the past enhances successful control of place memories. Negative memories related to places

demand control-tuning strategies such as *resisting* and *dealing with obstructing control*. The control-tuning paths for place-based memories lead to control-tuning outcomes which either empower migrants or block their control over their lives and actions. Authorities and local residents also exert control over migration-related place memories, but here their importance is generally less significant than that of migrants' control-tuning paths. The intervening factors influencing the control-tuning path outcomes consist of the level of interest in transmitting memories to others, age, place of origin and experiences of conflict and forced migration, as well as the availability of medical assistance, relationships with other people and the types of environments in which an actor has lived.

Unlike in the case of *exiting* in *multi routing* due to disliking the current area of residence, the feelings related to places in *emotional ride* are connected to the need to understand place, people and one's own life.

> I don't see anything good in Egypt. I hate the country because when life is difficult to me how could I like the country. I am not staying in peace. I am always harassed on the street. I am always fearing. I am not happy. (FN EGY R 261005/1)

Migration actors, especially migrants, need to control their place-related feelings. This control is enhanced by *dealing with obstructing control* in order to survive in a place or by *sharing control* or *stating control* to understand places, people and situations. Furthermore, seeking to change one's own place-related feelings is important, as this provides a better sense of control. At times, migration actors experience satisfactory control-tuning outcomes due to having positive associations with a place, but dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes appear when feelings towards a place are somewhat negative. In addition, *momentary control* also occurs – where these positive and negative place-related feelings appear in turn. Reactions to other people and their needs, the type of land, price of food and housing and the likelihood of death and conflict are some of the factors influencing migration actors' control in connection to feelings related to places.

6.1.3. Spatial manoeuvring

> When the winter comes, we street children sleep in sewage pipes. During rainy season we sleep under big verandas of the shops in the market. (Memo 220514/11)

Spatial manoeuvring includes control-tuning paths in relation to *place picking*, *operating funds*, *keeping safe* and *dividing space*. *Spatial manoeuvring* reveals the importance of the imagined and real qualities of living in a particular place, the availability of funds, the safety of migration actors and the division of space for different purposes during migration.

6.1.3.1. Place picking

Place picking explains the effect of the imagined and real experience of migrants, as well as restrictions imposed by authorities and local residents, on the wishes for and realities of living in and visiting or transiting through particular places. Here, control occurs in relation to wanting to live in a particular place, living in a particular place and wanting to visit, spend time in and/or transit through a particular place.

> If I could choose any place where to live, I would choose my home town in Sudan as I have good memories from there. I was happy there. (Memo 110605/14)

The control of *place picking* in *spatial manoeuvring* is practised when a migrant wants to live in a particular place. Here *control tuning* occurs in connection with a desire, stemming from a migrant's own needs or the needs of others, to live in a particular location. In addition, the desire to live in a particular place is affected by acquaintances, experiences of treatment, and imagined situations. Here, the control-tuning causes include the need to respond to both one's own control situation and that of others. For instance, a migrant might seek control-tuning strategies for rebelling against another's control when, s/he is reluctant to move to an area or place determined or suggested by an authority. This often occurs for strong reasons, such as family members residing elsewhere, a lack of opportunities for skill development,

difficulties in gaining citizenship, the need to learn a new language and culture or the lack of sufficient knowledge of the new area. Migrants can either slowly deliberate on where they want to live or the decision can be taken very rapidly, depending on the type of migration. Some positive control-tuning strategies are linked to having time to discover, from various sources, the nature of a particular place, thereby allowing the migrant to consider its advantages and drawbacks. Dreaming of a better life and the qualities of places elsewhere can make migrants living in a difficult situation feel they are *increasing control* over their lives. *Seeing only the positive side of control* occurs when a migrant is in such a challenging situation that s/he is willing to accept an authority's decision on moving anywhere, simply to exit the current place of residence: "Any, any place, just get me out of here!" (Memo 270214/7).

> When the man was given the chance to be resettled in Finland while living in a place of asylum, he first refused. He discussed the issue with his wife. They both wanted to go elsewhere, where they had relatives. However, the man had learned at school that Finland was a good country. So they decided to see the country with their own eyes, and if they didn't like it, they would go to their relatives' place elsewhere. The man told the United Nations that authorities should not send them to a bad place, and so they came to Finland. The family had relatives and friends in Greece, Cyprus, the USA, the United Kingdom and Australia. Before the decision to move to Finland, the man had applied for resettlement in Australia, but it was impossible as it would have been through a sponsored resettlement programme not through the United Nations; thus, they had no money to pay for the ticket. In order to exit Sudan, he had to plan three years just to get out of the country. (Memo 280405/3)

In addition to migrants, local residents and authorities are also involved in controlling the desire to live in a particular place. The behaviour of local residents affects a migrant's desire to move to or from a particular place. When local residents have a mainly positive attitude towards migrants, there is no particular need for migrants to seek control-tuning strategies for *exiting* a place. Moreover, the positive treatment of migrants can increase the interest of other migrants to move to a certain location. Conversely, the negative behaviour of local residents increases migrants' desire to live elsewhere. When

it comes to authorities, their role in controlling and taking into account a migrant's wish to live in a particular place is usually twofold: either to *negotiate control* or *state control* in relation to where a migrant should live.

> It would be better to let refugees choose where they live and how they get their livelihood. This would be local integration and there would be fewer tensions between locals and refugees. (FN UGA A 191205/1)

When migrants are able to move to and reside in their preferred place, the control-tuning outcomes are usually satisfactory. Balanced control-tuning paths, where migrants and authorities cooperate to allow the migrant to move to his/her preferred place, also lead to a satisfactory control-tuning outcome. On the other hand, control-tuning outcomes are dissatisfactory when migrants are disappointed about being unable to live in their preferred place. They become more frustrated by continuing to live in limbo, or suffer when they or their loved ones are injured or killed while, for instance, protesting against authority decisions on *spatial manoeuvring* or clashing with local residents. Control varies when a migrant is waiting for further authority offers and actions related to living in a place or moving elsewhere. At times, migrants feel they *possess control* and at times it seems they *have no control*. In *place picking*, the opportunities for resettlement or other onward movement, emotions, the existence of conflict, the absence of migrants from a given place and the size of that place can function as intervening factors affecting control-tuning outcomes. In addition to migrants, also local residents and authorities may wish to live in a particular place due to migration related issues.

In practice, living in a particular place concerns controlling authority rules, lack of opportunities, lived experiences in that place, assistance and obtained or lacking knowledge related to that place. Here, imagined experiences are less significant than migrants' lived experiences. Residing in a particular place occurs in relation to migrants' control-tuning strategies. Such strategies can be connected to finding other migrants with whom to share a flat, living on the street, using an agent to find housing or buy land, or building a home on the same spot where authorities demolished an earlier dwelling:

> People are now living in an open area and the situation is bad. They are living in Abu Gharif, the place is now named after Saddam

> Hussein's prison. IDPs just made shelter in places where their old houses were. Some are dying from hunger, cold and sun sometimes. (FN SUD A 121105/1)

The control-tuning strategies of authorities, such as those related to harassing migrants or requiring them to produce documents in order to reside in an urban centre, can lead to dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes for migrants. Such outcomes may manifest in a migrant facing daily abuse, feeling exhausted or ill or living in unsatisfactory housing. Control-tuning outcomes sometimes oscillate between satisfactory and dissatisfactory in relation to migrants living away from their loved ones. At times they feel in control, while at other times the pain and challenge of separation overwhelms them and their control disappears, which can lead to mental health problems. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes emerge when migrants receive remittances from abroad that allow them to live in a better neighbourhood and to have a good standard of living. There are several factors in living in a particular place that affect the kind of control-tuning paths available, including authority actions and policies obstructing other *place picking* choices, authority actions related to bribery or, for example, requesting sex as in return for a particular decision, knowledge about other places, and the gravity of mental and physical health problems.

> Of course the situation is actually not good in the sense that if I were to be like any other person having his proper legs and can move here and there and to know things here and there. . . . But my situation [as a disabled person], I am just like in prison. [In the previous area] I was just kept in the flat up there. Here I can maybe push myself here and there so I can meet people. This is the difference I can talk about. (FN EGY R 310106/1)

In migration movements, controlling a migrant's own interests in visiting, spending time in and/or transiting through a particular place are at times extremely challenging. Authorities and local residents control these movements through curfews and blocking routes, through various policies and through attacks. Moreover, the distribution of services such as health clinics and schools affect both a migrant's interests and needs to move or remain in a

given place, as well as the reality of moving in space. Often migrants also need to respond to the control of others. To deal with these control requirements, migrants may enhance the control of authorities or rebel against it by seeking suitable spaces and areas in which to spend time and by considering how to use limited spaces. Migrants pave the way for their own control by co-operating with friends, relatives and family in order to visit them. When migrants are unable to move as they wish, they suffer from dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes. However, the ability to limit the movement of migrants or decide what areas are accessible to them represents a satisfactory control-tuning outcome for authorities and local residents. The intervening factors influencing the control-tuning paths include feelings of superiority, the availability of financial means, success in *document solutioning* and the policies of authorities.

> *Exiting* a refugee camp or a settlement can mean worsening security and a greater threat of a refugee being killed. This then limits the use of space, as people are forced to stay within the camp or settlement. (FN UGA R 071205/2)

6.1.3.2. Operating funds

> The IDPs in the camp usually do not rent from anyone; they probably build their own house. They do not pay for electricity, as it is not there. In some places they pay for this electricity service when someone has a generator. If the person gets the plot of land, he has to pay something maybe around six million Sudanese pounds, which is a lot of money for IDPs. There are the middlemen who tell that they give money to an IDP, who then pays two million to the government, and then they [the middlemen] take the land and give two million to the IDPs. The land is not benefitting those IDPs. If an IDP wants to return to South Sudan, he could sell the land and keep the money. (FN SUD A 171105/1)

The control of *operating funds* refers to the way migrants and local residents manage housing issues, and it denotes receiving money or financial support, a lack of money and the way changes in property ownership are reflected in migration movements and space. Thus, control relates to paying for housing, having money and owning property.

In connection to *operating funds*, control includes paying for housing. Here, migrants' need for suitable housing and local residents' ability or willingness to lease housing are central. Renting housing from an organisation or property owners other than local residents is also important. Here, the control-tuning causes relate to the interaction between a landlord and a tenant or would-be tenant. Finding housing is often challenging, and, in order to operate funds to pay for housing successfully, different control-tuning strategies are required. For instance, *sharing control* over the ability to pay for housing occurs where a migrant rents a dwelling with other migrants. Here, the control-tuning paths also concern interaction between migrants and brokers when finding housing and drawing up a lease. Control is also significant in negotiations over rent levels and the timing of payment in those cases where negotiating is possible. Migrants, local residents and authorities must deal with control in relation to, for example, state financial support for housing and/or authorities' requests for migrants to provide details of their place of residence. Migrants experience dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes particularly in relation to living conditions, rent, and decisions on eviction in the event of non-payment of rent. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes are common for authorities and local residents. For migrants they are less frequent but occur, for example, through *shared control*, where migrants are able to pay for housing by sharing it. The intervening factors of paying for housing include remittances received, the level of rent, the availability of others interested in sharing costs, the personality of a landlord, the integrity of a broker and the level of expressing and implementing one's own decision making. All these factors have an impact on the kinds of control-tuning paths that occur.

Controlling having money is central to *operating funds*. Receiving or failing to receive money or financial support, assisting others and lacking money affect the possibilities for controlling *operating funds*. When it is possible to receive remittances from abroad, *spatial manoeuvring* is easier. For instance, having money allows a migrant to move to better housing or *re-root home*. By contrast, lacking money may lead migrants to seek housing from a squatter area or cardboard box, move to a cheaper area or live in an area where there are no services. Lacking money can also affect spatial movements such as entering and *exiting* spaces and places.

Even when an actor has money and has more control over *spatial manoeuvring*, there may be an aspect of having to respond to the control of others, as those sending remittances or asking for money also influence the actor's control. Thus, an actor may need to accept the *spatial manoeuvring* requests of others (such as looking after their property), as s/he is receiving money from them. Moreover, an actor may suffer from mental health problems caused by the outside control of those who request money. Being in employment is important for controlling having money, as it can enhance control.

> For some camps like the Soba area, which is near to industrial areas, unemployment is not a big problem. They [IDPs] have access to work in these industrial areas. (FN SUD A 171105/1)

When there is no employment available, however, control-tuning outcomes are more often dissatisfactory. Local residents sometimes assist migrants financially, but they more often rebel against the control of the state or a particular organisation for having given money to migrants or against migrants for having money. In the latter case, local residents attempt to diminish the threat of migrants receiving more money by adopting various control-tuning paths that diminish migrants' control. However, here, the intervening factors affecting control-tuning outcomes include local residents being misinformed and erroneously suspecting migrants of misusing the financial support system. Other intervening factors involve the possibilities for other ways of living and cheaper expenses, the availability of assistance from others, changes in financial circumstances and *document harassing*.

> There is a difference in traditions and way of life between the South [Sudan] and North [Sudan]. In the North things are difficult. But in the South even if you are staying without money you have mangos, papaya and apples from the forest. They are not owned by anyone, you can just eat them. But here [in the North] people are told to bring money for fruit. (FN SUD IDP 151105/5)

Owning property forms part of controlling *operating funds* and *spatial manoeuvring* in relation to migration. Owning property is particularly salient

for control-tuning paths related to changes in property ownership. Conflict-induced migration, in particular, often involves a migrant needing to adopt a variety of control-tuning strategies in order to deal with issues of property ownership. These control-tuning strategies are especially common when migrants are forced to abandon a property due to a conflict, leave property behind due to flight, protest against someone else taking over their property and fight against relocation. By contrast, authorities and local residents (in the place of origin of migrants especially) may, in practice, take over a property, thus enhancing their control. Important intervening factors in these control-tuning paths include the presence of a relative or a neighbour who can take care of the property, traditions in property ownership, the ability to negotiate, financial means, as well as the actions and policies of authorities. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes occur through losing one's property to someone else. In turn, owning a property but having someone else take care of it can be a satisfactory or dissatisfactory control-tuning outcome. When someone takes over the property of another, they can experience satisfactory control-tuning outcomes. However, when the previous owner returns to claim his/her property or if the new property owner needs to give up the property for other reasons, new control-tuning strategies need to be adopted and the control-tuning outcomes can fluctuate and change quickly.

6.1.3.3. Keeping safe

> Sometimes we are going through some security problems in the camp. Last year unknown people came with their arms and threatened refugees. They came at night and had their faces covered so it was very difficult to identify them. Some refugees who were assaulted were so scared that they left Uganda for South Sudan. (FN UGA R 100106/1)

Keeping safe refers to the control and limitations imposed by security in migration movements and in living in places. Controlling *keeping safe* involves authorities determining where migrants live, migration actors hiding or fleeing, the establishment or closure of ad hoc camps and transit camps, controlling safety in organised or spontaneous movements and local residents affecting safety.

When authorities want to prevent conflicts in a location such as a refugee settlement and to perform successful control of *keeping safe*, migrants of different ethnic groups or religions are often settled in different or similar areas; thus, authorities determine where migrants live. Moreover, authorities often control where migrants live in peaceful environments, as is commonly the case in resettlement. For instance, authorities frequently locate migrants in the same areas as local residents, and while the number of migrants in these areas varies, the concentration of migrants can sometimes be extremely high. This can result in locals seeking control over their lives, culture and habits by *exiting* to areas with fewer migrants. In order to control *keeping safe* and prevent conflicts, authorities can promote feelings of unity and togetherness among migrants and/or local residents. Naturally, this is not always a straightforward process, so various control-tuning paths are adopted by migration actors to rebel against, facilitate or enhance the control of authorities and other actors. Manifold control-tuning outcomes exist, including both satisfactory and dissatisfactory outcomes. Living peacefully in the area designated by authorities, thus experiencing *gained control*, encountering problems with authorities and others, thus experiencing diminishing control, and re-placements to another area after experiencing *feared control* are some examples. The intervening factors affecting control include the presence of other migrants from the same or a different ethnic group or religion, the presence of local residents in the area and the ability to understand and interpret.

Migration actors' control of hiding or fleeing occurs in relation to *keeping safe* when migrants consider they are unsafe due to a threat mainly from authorities and/or local residents. Controlling hiding or fleeing to achieve *keeping safe* is closely connected to *exiting* in *multi routing*. Hiding and fleeing can occur from, and in, different spaces and places: from a prison, home, neighbourhood, village, country or from one's own mental spaces, such as from the fear attached to a certain place. Naturally, migrants also hide and flee from people. By using suitable control-tuning strategies like *resisting control* or *claiming control*, the control-tuning paths result in satisfactory or dissatisfactory outcomes. For example, a migration actor can achieve *accepted control* by joining opposition forces in another place or experience *shared control* by successfully escaping to a particular place with familiar people. Actors can also experience *fluctuating control* by being forced to change their

place of hiding on a regular basis. Here, the intervening factors include the availability of assistance and opportunities, the ability to handle difficult situations and the ability to escape.

During conflict-induced migration, there is often a need to control establishment or closure of ad hoc camps and transit camps for conflict-related reasons. Migration actors such as camp authorities, migrants, rebels or military forces adopt various control-tuning paths in order to manage these camps. Leaving and/or surrendering a transit or ad hoc camp under another management occurs in areas of conflict. This is strongly connected to controlling *keeping safe* and *spatial manoeuvring* through fleeing. Control-tuning strategies for building or rebuilding a camp for use in conflict-stricken areas are also typical in migration movements and are linked to temporally changing control-tuning outcomes, such as *fluctuating* and *momentary control*. Here, the control-tuning outcomes relate to migrants and camp authorities reaching a safer camp after the previous camp has been taken over, especially by force. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes appear when a new camp opens elsewhere or when a camp adopts a new function unrelated to migrant settlement. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes arise not only in relation to losing management of a camp to others but also when migrants feel they are living in limbo, as there is no other place to settle. If different migration actors are in charge of different camps or sections of the same camp at the same time, a *simultaneous* control-tuning outcome occurs. Here, the factors that affect the control-tuning paths include the number of different authorities, the possibility of transportation from a camp and the time since the camp was last in use.

> A refugee settlement is established due to war and the induced displacements. A settlement may be forced to be closed when the fighting is heavy and manager of the settlement is killed. . . . People are just in random running away and then end up in different countries in border regions. Harassment from rebels may force people out of the camp. This then may lead to the establishment of transit camps, which are temporary for the time being until the government finds a more permanent place for fleeing refugees. Aid agencies may assist in relocation with vehicles. Rebels are not normally able to stay in the settlements they have fought over and exiled people from; otherwise

> they would be captured by the government troops. A closed camp can be reopened if there is peace and, for example, rebels have signed a peace agreement and maybe joined the government. (FN UGA A 100106/2)

Control in relation to limiting movement due to security is practised by all migration actors in relation to migration movements. It is, however, most obvious in connection to the actions of authorities and to migrants limiting their own movements. Authorities limit the movements of migrants, local residents and/or other authorities in order to keep them safe. Here safety varies according to the group, as keeping one group safe, for instance local residents, can mean another group of people, such as migrants, feeling unsafe and thus limiting their own movement. Authorities control *keeping safe* by developing surveillance technologies, building fences and walls and requesting the surrender of guns and ammunition before people cross a border:

> The challenges and concerns of nationals include security. There is fighting in Congo, so if the rebels cross over to Uganda it is bad, as they are raping, looting et cetera. The army is now deployed across the border. If you are a militant and want to cross over, you have to surrender your ammunition and guns. There are [also other] conflicts, like the cultural differences between tribes. . . . Marriage of a 14-year-old is not acceptable in Uganda [like it is somewhere else]. There are also cases of rape, which we receive on a regular basis. (FN UGA A 090106/3)

Migrants react to authority control by, for instance, using human smugglers to assist in border crossings and by mistrusting authorities. Local residents feel that authority control protects them from migration 'flows' and 'waves', as well as from migrants' 'criminality' and 'abuse of their system'. Thus, local residents feel that they are in better control in relation to migration issues and the spaces they use. When migrants limit their own or others' movement in order to control security, various control-tuning paths are adopted, including in relation to limiting movement in particular streets or neighbourhoods for safety reasons and, in particular, limiting the movement of women and children. Sometimes migration actors move around despite knowing the risks to their safety. This can occur as a means of rebelling against

authority control aimed at limiting their movement or because there is a compelling need to move for other reasons. In addition, aid organisations assisting migrants limit movements in order to enhance *keeping safe*:

> There are many crimes inside IDP camps: killing, rape. When aid organisations are working there, people are saying that workers should not stay there after sunset, as there are many crimes there. Even police are involved in rapes and sexual harassment. (FN SUD A 121105/1)

Migrants' everyday movements in space are particularly limited when authorities and local residents are in control of their movements. Here the control-tuning outcomes are often dissatisfactory. An inability to differentiate between the safety of various areas, moving residence from one neighbourhood or area to another and the need for a chaperone in order to move safely are issues related to some of the control-tuning outcomes. Limiting movements due to security is closely related to *negative tagging*, where an actor experiences verbal and physical abuse when, for example, walking on the street. Issues like the type of neighbourhood and areas near one's place of residence, the presence and level of a security threat, the degree of authority control and the availability of documents comprise some of the intervening factors influencing control in relation to limiting movement due to security.

Control tuning of safety during organised or spontaneous movement occurs when migrants need to consider and make decisions on the type of movement that is safe and possible. Here, they are required to deliberate on whether they should move with organised movements (e.g. state or organisation-assisted movements) or through spontaneous, unassisted movements. The control-tuning causes for organised and spontaneous movements often relate to responding to an authority's ability to control and the practical application of that control. To understand the safest way to move, a migrant *shares control* with other migrants and authorities by discussing routes and ways of movement in relation to his/her safety. Thus, migrants consider means of moving with the minimum number of security problems. Migrants can allow an authority to manage their movement by rationalising that authority control means safety. They can also rebel against authority control, especially if it is forced in some way, thus enhancing their control by

choosing to move on their own rather than being assisted. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes arise from increased positive experiences and feelings of safety due to the appearance and actions of an authority in the form of convoys, registration points, assistance points and other activities to control movement. Furthermore, smooth co-operation between authorities and migrants concerning the control of movement increases the chances of reaching satisfactory control-tuning outcomes. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes arise from facing safety problems en route. In relation to safety during movements, the control-tuning paths include intervening factors such as emotions and previous experiences of assisted or spontaneous movements, means of transportation, the circumstances of the conflict and the abilities of authorities, migrants and local residents to assist and protect. Safety during organised and spontaneous movements is closely related to *re-rooting home*.

Local residents control safety primarily through limiting the movements of migrants, but they can also affect the control of safety in other ways. Thus, there are several control-tuning paths that occur in relation to local residents affecting the safety of migrants. Safety issues between local residents and migrants arise particularly in relation to *link keeping* (i.e. how migration actors remain in connection with others) and living in the same area of residence. The control-tuning causes involve responding to both one's own control situation and that of others. Control-tuning strategies appear through peaceful means, but they can also involve the use of violence. Here in particular, the control situations require enhancing one's own control and rebelling against the control of others. To achieve this, migrants and/or local residents can collaborate with authorities to gain support for their control needs. Even though tensions between the control of local residents and migrants are clearly evident in migration, these two migration actors can also experience and work towards common control. They can successfully share the same spaces and services, such as schools, health clinics and churches, in a safe manner. In practice, satisfactory control-tuning outcomes appear through cooperation between migration actors and by solving problems in relation to safety. This can involve the dissemination of information about migration or social norms in the new environment. By contrast, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes materialise when cooperation fails. Local residents or migrants take over spaces and expel others from the area. The ability to interpret behaviour, the unbiased/biased attitudes of authorities, the

availability of accurate information and the attitude of local residents to migrants and vice versa are some of the intervening factors affecting control-tuning paths.

6.1.3.4. Dividing space

> Street children with a migration background are used to using the city space. Some prefer staying in one area, whereas others move around more. Social centres do not allow free movement unless you have been there for long and have proved to authorities that you have earned that freedom. On the streets, kids have more freedom to move. According to one of the street children, comparing the freedom of movement offered by social centres and foster families, the latter offers more freedom. Street children have no place to wash themselves on the street, so they have to take advantage of natural places like the River Nile. (Memo 280515/20)

Dividing space denotes the way space is or should be divided in order to guarantee privacy, benefit different actors in education, deal with imprisoning migrants and place different groups against each other. Thus, in *dividing space*, control refers to privacy, interest in education, and imprisonment. Furthermore, control is defined in space according to belonging to a group.

In *dividing space*, *control tuning* becomes evident through possessing or lacking privacy. This may be due to bad planning or lack of possibility to live and act in relation to space in private. Privacy can be limited or non-existent, and it can also exist in relation to a location, as when migrants and authorities are spatially separated. Control-tuning paths emerge from the control situations of migrants, local residents and authorities, and also in relation to control imposed by others who are not linked to migration. At times, migrants are forced to agree with the control of others and to accept own powerless position what comes to controlling spaces and situations related to spaces. For example, when physical privacy is lacking and migrants are forced to wash in an open or semi-open space or use the toilet in front of other people, migrants often have no choice but to accept the current level of control. The control of *dividing space* is challenging when there is a need to share a dwelling with other people, as there may be no privacy available for couples, families and

single persons. Due to an inability to control *dividing space*, women may be compelled, against their will, to share private matters with men or vice versa. Authorities *divide spaces* to control where migrants and others can go and spend time. This is particularly common in migration-related offices and camps for refugees and internally displaced persons. Authorities *facilitate* migrants' *control* by listening to them and considering how a space can be improved. Increasing lights and providing better lavatories and facilities for washing allows women to better control their everyday life. By contrast, if there is an increase in rapes and attacks due to a lack of privacy in space, people experience dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes. Some migrants simply accept that *having no control* and lacking privacy are "obligatory" parts of migration and poverty. Others can also advance their control by exploiting the problems in *dividing space*. When, for instance, people are forced to deal with private matters in public, those matters can come to the attention of others who can use the information against them. Here, control-tuning paths depend, for instance, on the spaces in which one lives and spends time, the level of hygiene, cultural traditions and financial means.

Controlling *dividing space* can be understood through interest in education. In migration, education is usually important to all migration actors. Migrants feel a *need to increase* their own *control* of their lives and opportunities, and education is often seen as the best way to do this. Conversely, local residents sometimes feel the *need to resist control* when the presence of migrants in "their" spaces and places of education is considered unacceptable. Nevertheless, common control of interest in education between local residents and migrants often promotes local residents' ability to participate in schooling, thereby producing a satisfactory control-tuning outcome regarding their interest in education. Authorities also experience control in relation to *dividing space* in connection to education, as they deal with the practicalities of providing education:

> In church schools there is a high demand for space and a lack of space due to the large number of refugee students, the first set of classes assembles in the morning and the second set of classes in the afternoon. This is to maximize the use of space. (Memo 240414/1)

During migration, migrants who lack access to schools may adopt control-tuning strategies to place their children in school, build their own school or participate in adult education. Authorities often want to *balance control* by providing education for both migrants and local residents rather than catering exclusively for one or other group. Control-tuning outcomes related to *dividing space* in education are often satisfactory when new premises for a school are found and old premises are closed in order to accommodate more students and when a larger school is built to accommodate both migrants and local residents. Conversely, regarding interest in education, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes are linked to a situation where wishes for education are not met or there is no such education available. The intervening factors related to interest in education in *dividing space* include distance, available premises, the availability of teachers, the advantages and disadvantages of education compared to work and earning a living, the availability of services and the level of knowledge and skills of students.

> There is not much space in a prison. Space is used and divided according, for example, to whether a woman has a child with her in prison; then she is given a bed. But those women without children only have mattresses on the floor. There is no privacy. In addition, in prison space it is difficult to maintain good hygiene, as there are no showers, only tap water. (Memo 280514/18)

The question of *control tuning* in relation to *dividing space* in imprisonment is particularly important in conflict-induced migration. Control-tuning paths often concern responding to others forcing control and enhancing one's own control through forcing. Authorities normally focus on enhancing their own control, whereas detainees attempt to manage the control of others. Migration actors have very different abilities to impact control in detention. Usually, detainees either silently accept difficult space-related circumstances to avoid further problems or rebel against authority control in order to change the division of space and improve their situation. Authorities exert control either by respecting the rules concerning detainees' rights or by torturing and punishing detainees. Prisoners may *share control* and divide space according to people's circumstances, such as giving beds to women with children in cells that accommodate several people. The control-tuning

outcomes related to *spatial manoeuvring* through *dividing space* in imprisonment concern detainees suffering abuse from authorities and other prisoners. The control-tuning outcomes of authorities and migrant detainees in prison are not equal, as authorities usually possess more control, but equal control can exist among detainees. The control of space is also relevant when a migrant is released from a prison and finds it difficult to cope with the space issues in freedom, such as experiencing panic attacks when walking along a street or being in open spaces. In imprisonment, local residents often face similar control-tuning paths to those of migrants in the same situation. Such control-tuning paths are affected by the types of charges and punishments, the size of a prison and cell, emotions related to unfair trials, the availability of lawyers and legal counsel and fear of torture and other mistreatment.

Migration actors control *dividing space* according to the individuals belonging to a group. Here, a group refers to people, most often migrants, with common characteristics, such as a similar ethnic background or time of arrival in an area.

> Even in the settlements, there is a house for new-arrivals. After staying there for three days, you are given some items and you are settled somewhere else. (FN UGA A 161205/4)

Here, the control-tuning causes relate to authorities forming groups that have different possibilities, such as access to authority premises, which can then lead migrants to adopt control-tuning strategies in response to authority control. Migrants who are dissatisfied and frustrated may attack authorities or protest in other ways. This can ultimately lead to dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes where migrants lack control. Indeed, migrants are seldom able to enhance their control under these circumstances. Moreover, the control-tuning strategies adopted by authorities can position migrants in a lower position than local residents. For instance, property owners can offer migrants residential spaces that have been rejected by local residents but which authorities know migrants have no other choice than to accept. Migrants also need to implement control-tuning strategies when dealing with the negative feelings created by an unwanted person from a particular ethnic group living next door in a place of asylum, or when, as newcomers to a refugee camp, they are shown a particular plot for residence and cultivation. In addition, control-

tuning paths arise in connection with migrants being placed in different areas from fellow migrants in resettlement or when authorities are unable to *divide space* for migrants and they are forced to live in the grounds of an organisation or police station or under restaurant verandas. Migrant groups face decreased control, for example, through refusing to accept the space authorities have designated to that group:

> Some ethnic groups may refuse to move to particular villages in a refugee settlement designated by authorities. The reason for this can be fear of insecurity caused by another ethnic group. However, this type of *dividing space* may lead to moving to a worse area which is less fertile for cultivating and to regret over not accepting the land first offered by authorities. (Memo 270614/27)

Here, the control-tuning outcomes also concern feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, reaching a breaking point and hierarchies. These control-tuning paths are affected by the presence of other ethnic, religious or rival groups in the area, the quality of relationships between migration actors, the distance between places and access to services.

6.1.4. Establishing a new normal

> There is a very big change when I have lived abroad. I remember that I had been without food for three days and so [in Sudan]. But now, being in Egypt I have dreams, to change my position and to be a human being. If I get out of Egypt, I have a good idea of how to be a human being. It was a very big change to lose my father – for many years I did not enjoy eating. . . . But now in Egypt I have a job and I have dreams. (FN EGY R 141005/1)

The concept of *establishing a new normal* unravels the way new environments and cultures encircle actors in migration. It explains the need of migration actors to account for different family, gender and generation roles, interaction with others, and the physical and mental environments in diverse spaces and places. Here, control occurs in connection with *cultural customising*, *family-role adjusting* and *being surrounded by the unfamiliar*.

6.1.4.1. Cultural customising

> I have face scars. They are a tradition. I was about to get married when I got them, they are about beauty. I was still singing songs and doing dances then. I got married at the age of 18. It was very painful [to get face scars]. When you start crying you have to become cool and remember it is a tradition, others can sing a calming song. This tradition has been stopped since the war broke out. The elders who were responsible for doing this were scattered and most killed in the war. It was not good that it was stopped. . . . It is true that children who are now growing up have become more irresponsible or restless as traditions have stopped. . . . Even if people would move back to the place of origin, this tradition will not come alive again, as there is a new generation. (FN UGA R 070106/5)

In the control of *cultural customising*, migration actors respond to the different cultures, traditions and cultural products that alternate and change in various places of migration. Migration actors engage in the *control tuning* of *cultural customising* in relation to cultural products, traditions and related behaviour, interaction between men and women and changes in personal development.

In places where the differences between cultural products, traditions and related behaviour are small, there is often less need for changes in control, whereas in those places where differences are significant, migration actors adopt various control-tuning strategies. Migrants often employ strategies to find a balance between the cultural traditions and behaviour of a previous place or places and the new place of residence.

> Dowry is still used. As there is no cattle [in the place of asylum], people have to have an agreement in writing that now we are in exile and think what compensates for that. There are options, and things are modified. (FN UGA R 071205/5)

Migrants can also promote some traditions and behaviour over others when they seem more appealing. Control is often connected to the distinct way generations see cultural traditions, products and behaviour. To enhance control in connection with old traditions and behaviour, migrants teach

children about their ethnic language and oral histories, celebrate festivals and call the community together to solve culture-related problems. At times migrants *have limited or no control* in relation to *cultural customising*, and they must seek control-tuning strategies to deal with new legislation or policies. Changes in traditions and behaviour require the enhancing of one's own or another's control, but they also lead to rebellion against the control of others. Such changes also involve *facilitating the control* of others, such as where parents/guardians and authorities co-operate in order to help a child cope with settling in to a new place or keeping some of their previous traditions alive. The control of conflicts between generations, children and adults, and/or youth and authorities also occurs. Authorities are able to positively affect *cultural customising* by *facilitating control* through, for example, providing premises and funding for teaching traditions and cultural activities. One important topic in relation to controlling *cultural customising* is the significance of time in the everyday life of migration actors. The understanding and following of time vary by place and region. Coping with time requires control-tuning paths that migrants, authorities and local residents adopt for better time-conscious cooperation between the actors. Several intervening factors can affect the control-tuning outcomes of *cultural customising*, including the ability to obtain authority support, the level of difference in traditions and behaviour between places, the possibilities for visiting one's place of origin, the laws and policies of particular places and the availability of information. In addition, financial means also affect the control of *cultural customising*:

> Culture and traditions are important, for example related to how to welcome a new neighbour in IDP camps. But the tradition of dancing and singing every evening is not there anymore. Festivals are hard to celebrate when there is no money. (FN SUD IDP 141105/1)

Interaction between men and women is an important aspect of *cultural customising*, and it partly coincides with cultural traditions and behaviour. The control of *cultural customising* in interaction between men and women arises particularly in connection with marriage traditions and rules, having a family, family size and premarital sex. In addition, practical interaction, such as dating and welcoming guests of different gender, can be part of *cultural*

customising. Migrants who move to new places of residence need to find solutions to the practicalities of their everyday lives when their previous marriage and dating-related traditions do not work or cannot be implemented in new places of residence. What was previously controlled by traditional leaders and local councils may now be controlled by the laws and policies of a new place of residence. The control of *establishing a new normal* is challenging, as traditional ways of interaction between men and women are often incompatible with the new ways:

> Refugees may also be caught in between the cultural traditions of the place of origin and asylum country's laws. For instance, a boy making a girl pregnant without being married to her is punishable in the place of origin by the girl's family, as the dowry is spoiled through the girl not being a virgin anymore. The boy can be killed or at least badly beaten up. Now in the country of asylum the police will process the crime and imprison the boy without the girl's family being officially compensated for the crime and dowry loss. However, there may still be unofficial negotiations between the families, about the need for the boy to marry the girl and about the amount of dowry. Even though many say that traditions of place of origin are still being followed, many see the changes in them. (FN UGA A 100106/2)

To manage control situations, migrants must consider means of balancing old and new habits and decide what needs to be changed. In *establishing a new normal*, generational differences are obvious. It can be easier for younger generations to adopt control-tuning strategies; however, all generations face obstacles when controlling *establishing a new normal*. In addition, authorities contribute to the control issues related to *establishing a new normal*. For instance, to facilitate the encountering of new cultural habits, they can raise awareness and teach aspects of *cultural customising*. Here, control-tuning outcomes can be either satisfactory or dissatisfactory depending on the issue and actor. The intervening factors include the ability to interpret issues in connection to the host society, the availability of information and the level of differences between places.

Controlling changes in personal development is often difficult. When migration actors move from area to area, they may realise that their skills and personal and career achievements, which were earlier appreciated, no longer

count. Levels of education and required work experience differ from place to place, as does the appreciation of cultures, which is either predominantly text-based or based on oral histories. Thus, migration actors often *need to deal with obstructing control* while competing in the job or education market with local residents or while learning new skills. Migration actors consequently adopt control-tuning strategies which potentially lead to satisfactory outcomes in relation to obtaining a job or education. For this, actors may trust the control of an authority by handing over responsibility for their education. Nevertheless, migration actors often experience dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes, as they are unable to attain a position equal to that of local residents. Thus, they may abandon attempts to control the changes in personal development required for success. This can lead to feelings of helplessness and *lacking control*, which, in turn, can trigger mental health problems and alcohol or drug misuse. In changes in personal development, the intervening factors include education and employment background, position in a society and the ability to understand the local way of life and cultural traditions in a host society.

6.1.4.2. Family-role adjusting

During migration movements and living in distinct spaces and places, *family-role adjusting* occurs as part of *establishing a new normal*. The roles of children and adults such as parents and guardians, and also those of husbands and wives, are modified according to the new norms of the societies and cultures encountered during migration. Thus, control occurs both in adult and child relationships and in changing gender roles.

> Now I am living this present life with laws and rules to follow in this [resettlement] country. As a father, I can tell my children that to be a good person this is the way you should live. From this age, you can do this and this. But, if the child never agrees to, he or she is doing different than what I am saying, there is nothing I can do here. (FN FIN R 010805/2)

With *control tuning* of *family-role adjusting*, control of adult and child relationships occurs particularly because of a parent's or guardian's decreased

decision-making power and understanding of events in a child's life. Furthermore, control occurs in order to change a situation where a child fails to listen to parent's advice when living somewhere other than the place of origin of the parent or the child. *Control tuning* also arises when adults who were previously in control of adult and child-related issues face diminishing control because of difficulties in *establishing a new normal* while children enhance their own control by adapting more easily to new environments and ways of life. Children may now adopt adult responsibilities and enhance control by understanding how the new place of residence and society works and by learning the new language faster. *Establishing a new normal* and controlling the new roles leads, at times, to children and youth rebelling against adults' control and rejecting their advice in favour of the ways of the current host society. Adults' inability to control coping with *establishing a new normal* reduces their ability to manage children's problems related to society, employment and education. Children and youth are sometimes required to handle new situations alone, as their parents, guardians or other adults have *lost control* in *establishing a new normal*: adults are struggling with their own challenges and thus are unable to help their children. However, some parents/guardians adopt control-tuning paths which allow authorities to assist in problems related to their children.

Establishing a new normal often affects changing gender roles. Spouses need to adopt different control-tuning paths in order to enhance, facilitate or rebel against control. The realities of the situation and the need to survive lead men and women to accept or reject roles that differ from those present in their place of origin. Men may be unaccustomed to performing household chores and caring for children in their place of origin, but in a host society they may need to accept this new role if women can find employment more easily.

> In Finland the roles of men and women are for many returning to the traditional ways existing in Sudan. Those roles had changed radically in Egypt but now again some women accept that they are doing everything expected by men. Those women who expect their husbands and children to help them in house choirs are few. Women who believe in the more traditional Sudanese way talk negatively about women who think men and women should share tasks. According to one interviewee, it has nothing to do with the education level of women but

> rather with personality. Some women who come to visit the interviewee would also like their husbands to help around home and with their children, but their husbands refuse. (Memo 290405/13)

Sometimes gender roles change in one place of migration but then, in a later migration location, return to the way they were in the place of origin. Moreover, those migrants who prefer to adhere to the gender roles of their place of origin can cause problems for those who wish to accept the gender roles of the host society. Adopted control-tuning strategies often change the gender roles in a family. Men and boys and women and girls can end up in gender roles they had never imagined in their place of origin. In terms of control, this change is satisfactory for some, while it is dissatisfactory for others. Here, control-tuning paths can lead to changes that would never have occurred in migrants' place of origin or another previous place, such as divorce or accepting new tasks. These control-tuning paths can also lead to *fluctuating control*, where control varies according to place. Sometimes gender roles change but then regress to their original state.

> When I have visited Sudanese homes [in resettlement], the women make many of the decisions – they are the bosses. They decide what furniture the family buys and are often in charge of the money. (FN FIN A 130505/4)

As a control-tuning outcome, the role of authority involvement in gender-role problems can also vary according to place. Through control, authorities contribute to changing gender roles in *family-role adjusting*. This occurs, for instance, by supporting a divorce or by allowing girls to participate in previously forbidden activities. Here, the intervening factors include the attitudes of family members and other people, the expected length of stay in a place, feelings of envy towards others, the ability to understand a host society and the ability to accept a new way of life.

6.1.4.3. Being surrounded by the unfamiliar

> Before coming to a resettlement country, one of the most frightening issues for quota refugees can be the weather. Depending on the

> resettlement country, the environment can be completely different from what refugees are used to. Before coming to Finland, some interviewees had heard that the resettlement country was extremely cold and there was snow. Some wondered how they would be able to survive. When refugees arrived during the winter, many remembered the snow and cold as their first experience of the new place. If they came during another season, the weather did not seem to play such an important role. The interviewees became used to the weather and snow quickly, and they realised it was not such a big issue. Soon people understood there was heating in houses, so it is possible to live there without freezing. The dark seems more difficult to get used to than the cold. Other environment-related questions concerning a new place are the animals. In the beginning, some were afraid of animals like bears. However, people soon realised that there was no real danger from such animals. In small resettlement places, what refugees appreciate is the fact that people can walk to meet other refugees and they are able to participate in some activities together. (Memo FIN 140114/3)

Being surrounded by the unfamiliar refers to the imagined and real qualities of facing new environments. This includes not just the physical environment but also the mental environment. *Being surrounded by the unfamiliar* refers to managing the unfamiliar and "starting from zero". Control is evident in relation to the physical environment, to changing surroundings and to interaction between migrants, authorities and local residents.

The physical environment is particularly significant during moving and when arriving in new spaces. Before leaving a particular place, migration actors often worry about the unfamiliar physical environment in the destination area, and question of surviving in a new environment arise. Actors are faced with control-tuning causes related to uncertainty about the new area. To possess or enhance control, a migration actor can, before moving to a new environment, read about the new area and listen to and converse with others about people's stories and experiences of that particular area. In this way, those who have some experience of the place can *facilitate* the *control* of those who are moving there. The new physical area can also become more familiar through a cultural orientation course. What is initially an unfamiliar area can become a more familiar place through learning from others, books or the Internet. The intervening factors influencing control-tuning paths include the

type of weather, seasons and daylight in an area, flora and fauna, the soundscape, age, and the availability of information and support from local residents and authorities. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes occur when an actor is disappointed with the new physical environment and feels s/he needs to move elsewhere. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes arise when an actor experiences control over *being surrounded by the unfamiliar* through understanding the physical environment better than expected or by enjoying the new environment and feeling something is familiar there:

> When I came for the first time to Finland, the picture I remember is the village of South Sudan. We have the same lakes and we have the forest. We have trees like this. So I thought I was going back to the village after 30 years! I was happy! But other people were not happy. But I withheld myself, it was like being in the village again in Finland! (FN FIN R 110605/2)

Being surrounded by the unfamiliar is also found in interaction between migration actors. Migrants must adopt certain control-tuning paths, as they are often unable to understand the behaviour of authorities or local residents and what they say and mean. When migrants are unable to understand the local language, the bureaucratic processes expected by authorities or issues concerning their own legal status, they may react by becoming more frustrated or by seeking help or accepting the assistance of an interpreter. In terms of control, they respond to both their own and other's control situations. This then leads to either satisfactory control-tuning outcomes through gradually learning how to function in unfamiliar settings or to dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes through feeling lost, confused and out of place. In addition, authorities and local residents may fail to understand migrants, leading them to manage control through severe control-tuning strategies that enhance or pave the way for control. Depending on the response of local residents, either *negative tagging* or getting to know migrants occurs, and the control-tuning outcomes often reflect the *fluctuating* or transient nature of *control*. At times migrants are in control, while at other times control is exerted by local residents or authorities. The intervening factors in the interaction between different migration actors include language skills, the ability to feel empathy and the availability of support networks.

Experiencing changing surroundings occurs through first impressions and feelings about the unfamiliar and through "starting from zero". Changing surroundings arise as migration actors experience positive or negative emotions towards a new area and find control-tuning strategies accordingly. When moving to a new area, an actor ponders the possibilities for *establishing a new normal*. If an actor dislikes the new place after spending some time there and there are no opportunities to move elsewhere, s/he can decide, for instance, that this place is good for learning a new way of life or skills but there will be a need to move away at some later stage in order to obtain a new job or better education. Under such circumstances, actors can make an effort to live in the new place and enhance their control through small positive events and the opportunities that exist there. Sharing experiences of a new place with others in the same situation *facilitates control* of changing surroundings. As with physical environments, mental environments that feel familiar can also help in controlling one's own life in changing surroundings. In relation to changing surroundings, the control-tuning strategies are linked with, for example, criticising a place for lacking opportunities for personal development or a good future and engaging in protest. The success of these control-tuning strategies is affected by intervening factors such as the level of differences between places, the ability to adapt, emotions, support networks and existing policies. Changing surroundings can contribute to more satisfactory control-tuning outcomes through negative expectations becoming positive experiences while possessing or experiencing feelings of increased security, having more space for personal use and/or enjoying a higher standard of living. A migration actor can realise the possibilities for personal development and a better future in a place after the unfamiliar becomes the familiar. This can occur when an actor better understands the new place and the life there. Gaining knowledge of, and feeling happy in, a place that resembles the place of origin or other previous place are factors that often provide satisfactory control-tuning outcomes. At times, actors can feel a new place is familiar due to there being similar noises, smells, language and numbers of people to the place of origin or other previous location. Some more dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes relate, for instance, to actors continuing to feel dissatisfied with their lives and the new place, struggling to cope or feeling in limbo without a way out: "For the first two to three days in Cairo, I thought I was going to live a good life here. After a week I realised everything was different

and life became very hard" (FN EGY R 121005/3). Nevertheless, with the help of other migration actors, an actor can feel in control of a difficult situation.

6.1.5. Re-rooting home

> I have been to South Sudan recently. I have seen that peace has come. It is going through the process that there are a lot of things that need to be put in place. Return and reintegration process will take a lot of time. Place is mined so there is a lot of work to get it de-mined. Place is large. Some road infrastructures, education and water need to be proofed, and people need to be sensitised. There is that sense of conflict as people are going back from refugee camps, that there will be conflicts among themselves. Because maybe he [a refugee] will find that his land is taken by somebody. He or she may find out that maybe the wife or a husband is married to another one – these things are creeping in. The strategy is that people have to be sensitised in South Sudan and refugee camps. They have to be patient. People who are living there [in South Sudan] have to be forgiven, and they need to welcome their brothers and sisters coming from diaspora so that the relationship can be built very fast. (Memo 180614/27)

Re-rooting home concerns the occurrence of control-tuning paths related to *reality checking*, *hindsighting* and *practical reckoning*. Here, control is practised when an actor considers the possibilities and realities of returning to a place of origin or other location considered home. *Reality checking* explains how control appears in connection to changes in a place of origin or home or other places related to migration. It also includes migration actors' feelings connected to their place of origin, home or other place and to being part of migration. *Hindsighting* refers to migrants looking back to what could have been and what could have happened in particular places related to migration. *Practical reckoning*, on the other hand, emphasises the practical aspects of returning to a place.

6.1.5.1. Reality checking

> Those who have land in Khartoum and have settled well are unlikely to leave. But most others are going to leave to South [Sudan]. People are

> leaving every day. Those who have good economic status or housing are not going to leave. Some IDPs were given residential lands in the past years and will probably not leave, but [the] majority were not given so they may leave. (FN SUD A 171105/1)

Reality checking becomes particularly salient when positive or negative changes occur in a particular place. These changes cause migration actors to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of leaving the current place in order to return to another place. This is usually their place of origin, but it can also be a place where they have previously lived or a place where they have never been but still consider home. This deliberation over changing places is manifested not only in practical rationalising but also in feelings. In *reality checking*, control appears in relation to changes in one's place of origin/home, to conditions elsewhere and to controlling psychological challenges.

Change in conditions in place of origin/home promote control in relation to *re-rooting home* as part of *reality checking*. Improvement or deterioration of the situation in an actor's place of origin or in the place what an actor calls home, for instance due to the developments of a conflict, creates the need to adopt certain control-tuning paths. The control-tuning causes relate to the end of a conflict, enemies signing a peace agreement, improved security in one's place of origin/home or better chances for personal development. Other causes include the need to guarantee better "development" and assist people in, or defend, place of origin/home. Here, the control-tuning strategies are determined in relation to considering the advantages and disadvantages of *re-rooting home*, making a decision about returning or staying, and actually *re-rooting home*. *Re-rooting home* can occur both for longer and shorter periods.

> If I could return to my place of origin I could re-marry. Also, in my place of origin I would not feel poor and no one would insult me like in the country of resettlement. My life would be better there. I am thinking about my country all the time but I am only able to see it on satellite. (FN FIN R 020805/1)

> [From Uganda] I have visited South Sudan for almost six times. I went in 2000 when my brother was killed. My father passed away when I was in Arua [Uganda] and I went to see his grave in 2002. In 2002-2003 I worked for an association for child soldiers for three months.

> We saved children from war to participate to education. We just helped, we never got a salary. In 2003 I went to South Sudan to work as a shop keeper for the army. I heard my kids were suffering without food, and then I stopped working and came back to Arua. (FN UGA R 050106/5)

Actors may *re-root home* to start a business, attend a funeral or to allow their children to learn about their own language and culture. *Reality checking* often continues after *re-rooting home* has occurred, as it does when staying elsewhere and when *re-rooting* home actually transpires. The control-tuning outcomes related to *reality checking* can be either satisfactory or dissatisfactory when returning or not returning to place of origin/home. Nevertheless, returning often produces more positive outcomes than staying in a place such as asylum, transit or resettlement. After *re-rooting home*, control is often enhanced through the ability to assist other people, contribute to peace and development, enjoy spiritual and physical freedom, follow one's own traditions and to use one's native language. In addition, satisfactory control-tuning outcomes occur when migrants feels welcome in their place of origin/home, stay in a familiar environment, feel in a better health, make a living and are able to defend their own area against an enemy. In *re-rooting home*, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes appear when a returning migrant struggles with the circumstances there or feels out of place. When a migrant chooses not to *re-root home* but to remain in a place of asylum, transit or resettlement or in another type of place, negative outcomes often arise from continuing to think about *re-rooting home*. These can lead to depression, enquiring more about the circumstances back home, feeling out of place and feeling dissatisfied with life. However, place-based changes can modify the control-tuning paths, altering the thoughts and actions related to *re-rooting home*. Here, the intervening factors affecting control linked to changes in conditions in one's place of origin/home include the information available on the situation there, the inability to forgive those responsible for occurrences in one's place of origin/home and whether the local community there welcomes the actor back. In addition, pressure to return and the level of actual peace also arise as intervening factors in relation to changes in place of origin/home for *reality checking*.

> Political events, like an important politician [from a place of origin] dying, can cause different types of reactions on returning to a place of origin. In some places, it is the last drop for an internal displacement situation when the host community seems part of the death. However, for those outside the country it may lead refugees to be more cautious about return and wait for a confirmation of the security situation in their place of origin. (FN UGA A 090106/3)

Even though changes in one's place of origin/home play a significant role in *re-rooting home*, the conditions elsewhere also affect the control of *re-rooting home* through *reality checking*. Here, *reality checking* is affected by the role of the host society and the opportunities available to migrants and their families. Control-tuning causes arise when there are no possibilities for personal development, earning a living, owning land and/or housing. Control-tuning causes also arise in relation to *negative tagging*, difficulties in understanding the host society, negative political changes and a worsening security situation. In addition, the control-tuning causes may be related to migrants' need to return to their place of origin/home in order to raise funds for their children's schooling or earn money to feed their family living elsewhere. Here, the control-tuning paths are also affected by migrants considering they are better off away from their home/place of origin or when they have no interest in "starting from zero" back home.

> Living in Uganda has made my life worse. I am now thinking that even though I am suffering in Uganda it is better to suffer than go back to South Sudan to get killed. (FN UGA R 081205/1)

Control-tuning strategies are adopted when migrants make a decision on *re-rooting home* or staying in their current place of residence. When the existing situation in the current place of residence is dissatisfactory, even when the situation back home is challenging, actors may choose to enhance their control in order to be able to *re-root home*. However, experiences of place of origin/home are often so negative, especially if migration was induced by a conflict, that actors choose to struggle in the current place of residence rather than returning. Plans may also change, and after *re-rooting* home, actors can view the place of migration from a new perspective. Even if there was a plan to

return to the place of migration, actors may end up remaining in their place of origin/home. Actors may also be satisfied with their lives away from place of origin/home and therefore find control-tuning paths that contribute to their lives in the current place of residence. The control-tuning paths related to being happy about one's life in a particular place, normally lead to satisfactory control-tuning outcomes. By contrast, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes are often related to situations where *re-rooting home* is not an option, causing increased frustration and the continued search for means of returning home. Here, the intervening factors affecting the success of control-tuning paths include the ability to interpret and understand, possibilities for employment, education, health care and nutrition in locations away from home, the level of *negative tagging* and the possibilities for organised and spontaneous return.

Psychological challenges, which are closely connected to practical conditions in *reality checking*, play an important part in relation to *re-rooting home*. Homesickness, feeling the need to assist people back home and develop the home area and feeling the importance of showing children their roots are related to several control-tuning causes. In addition, feelings of trauma and that no place can offer a good life and the idea of being in exile for too long require control-tuning paths in relation to *re-rooting home*. Here, control-tuning strategies arise particularly in connection with finding ways to be in contact with loved ones and finding ways to *re-root home*. Becoming reconciled with control occurs when *re-rooting* home is impossible and the migrants work in their own minds to accept the situation. Control-tuning strategies relating to a migrant not wanting to *re-root home* in order to avoid re-living traumas or handling traumas through psychological assistance are particularly salient when an actor has experienced conflict-related issues. In psychological challenges, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes are often linked to suffering from mental health problems, being unhappy about life, seeing no prospect of a decent future and feeling confused and not knowing what to do. Conversely, satisfactory control-tuning outcomes relate to the ability to contact loved ones and to remain in one's home after moving back there to seek a better future. These outcomes are related to positive emotions and the experience of belonging. Feelings of hope or disappointment over children learning about their roots lead to either satisfactory or dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes. Here, the intervening factors affecting controlling

psychological challenges include the strength of emotions, knowledge on the whereabouts of loved ones and the abilities to cope with difficult situations and understand.

6.1.5.2. Hindsighting

> When interviewees consider what would have happened if they had stayed in another place (country of origin, country of asylum etc.) they are *hindsighting* – speculating about what did not happen but might have happened. For instance, interviewees may feel that if they had stayed in their place of origin they would now be working there as a teacher, priest or a guerrilla officer, or studying as a student. Many also say that if they had stayed in the country of origin, they would now be dead due to the security forces and the conflict. One interviewee reports that if he had not been killed by now, he could be living there among his family and friends. The options could be a death or a somewhat normal life. If interviewees had stayed in the first or second country of asylum, many say their life would have continued being difficult. They would be working for long hours. For some staying in the first country of asylum would have meant "living in darkness" without the possibility for education, a good future and good changes in life. Some would have left the country of asylum and gone back to their place of origin due to difficulties in the country of asylum. (Memo 130114/34)

The concept of *hindsighting* concerns the way migrants look back at their previous experiences and the places they have stayed in and visited. They consider how their life would be or would have been if they had remained in a particular place. *Hindsighting* often occurs in relation to what would have happened if migrants had remained in their place of origin during conflict, if they had remained in a place of asylum, and if they had remained in place of origin during peace and they had never migrated elsewhere. *Hindsighting* either facilitates or prevents *re-rooting* home depending on how a migrant sees his/her past experiences in relation to a particular place. *Hindsighting* can occur among migrants who have moved purely for reasons of education or employment. However, when migration movements have been triggered by a conflict, peace and conflict become important aspects of *hindsighting*.

When migrants who have moved due to conflict consider what would have happened if they had remained in their place of origin during the conflict, the control-tuning causes concern matters of life and death. The need to deal with one's own control or that of others is connected with authorities chasing away or harassing and killing local residents. Migrants explain that if they had stayed in their place of origin during the conflict, they would have been forced to rebel against authority control, which in practice would have been difficult. Here, the control-tuning strategies would have concerned going into hiding, doing nothing and attempting to flee. The control-tuning outcomes would have been dissatisfactory if migrants had remained in their place of origin and had been forced to tolerate harassment from authorities, interrupt their schooling or marry against their will. Moreover, the ultimate lack of control would have been death. In addition, controlling housing, work and personal development in the place of origin would have been difficult. Here, the intervening factors consist of the ability to remain alive, the ability to negotiate and the level and number of attacks and authority harassment.

In relation to what would have happened if a migrant had remained in the place of asylum, the control-tuning causes relate to facing difficult circumstances, lacking the possibility to improve life or live a good life. These causes would have led migrants to adopt control-tuning strategies for dealing with a difficult life, *negative tagging* and authority harassment. If they had employed control-tuning strategies to enhance control, in practice this would have occurred by protesting against circumstances and treatment and by continuing to seek ways to exit a bad situation. Some migrants may have lived a better life in their place of asylum, which means they would have possessed control or would have enhanced control. Nevertheless, for many there would have been no personal development, there would have been poor prospects for the future, and at some stage they would probably have considered returning to their place of origin. Here, there are many potential dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes, though for some migrants satisfactory control-tuning outcomes would have arisen in relation to better opportunities for employment and other personal development in the place of asylum. The intervening factors affecting the control-tuning paths include emotions, location of place of residence, mental and physical health, opportunities for education and employment and *negative tagging*.

> The situation in Egypt was so bad that if I had not been accepted for resettlement, I would have returned to Sudan. (Memo 290405/17)

Hindsighting about what would have been if a migrant had remained in place of origin during peace and had never migrated elsewhere, mainly involves extremely positive control-tuning paths, and the control-tuning causes would have concerned continuing life as normal. Those migrants who would never have left if there had been peace would have been talking to neighbours, spending time with their family and continuing their schooling and work. If there had been peace in their place of origin, they would have married, had children, built houses and travelled to see other people. The control-tuning strategies adopted would have concerned *facilitating* and enhancing *control* rather than rebelling against it. Here, there would have been both satisfactory and dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes. As a result of various control-tuning strategies, people would have been able to live together, they would have received education and work, owned land, property and possessions, and they would have enjoyed life. Conversely, they would not have become acquainted with other places than those close to them, learnt other languages or understood how other communities function and people live with different traditions. Some would not have received an education or learned about new technology and media without migration. Some people would have been forced to marry and raise many children. Thus, many of the control-tuning paths occurring during migration would have been irrelevant to migration actors' lives if peace had prevailed and they had remained in their place of origin. The intervening factors influencing these control-tuning paths would have included the presence of family members, friends and relatives and traditions.

> If I had never come to Uganda and there had been peace, maybe I would have a better life – built a house, own a vehicle and I would have a big land. (FN UGA R 050106/5)

6.1.5.3. Practical reckoning

> Many things depend on what is being done in [South] Sudan on the ground. There is no more war but there is no infrastructure, no hospitals, no schools. Who is going there? Even security. There are many people who have weapons and have nothing to do there – what do they do, disappear? There is news coming in that some went back to the South but were attacked. Others are saying they are then not going back. It takes a lot that should be done in South Sudan before these people go back, this will take time. (FN EGY A 031005/1)

In migration movements, moving to another place requires *practical reckoning*. Those involved in migration movements, especially migrants, consider if they should move from one place to another with organised assistance, spontaneously or if they should wait to see how circumstances develop. In *practical reckoning*, controlling occurs in relation to organised return, spontaneous return and wait-and-see.

In relation to organised return, several control-tuning paths depend on the type of migration actor in question. In relation to organised return, authorities often *gain control*, whereas migrants lose it. Local residents may *increase* their *control*, but they too can also lose it. Authorities must organise return and migrants need assistance to be able to return to their place of origin or other location. In addition, migrants who stay in areas of asylum and transit without returning need to cope with the results of organised return, and local residents in places of asylum, transit and resettlement must cope with migrants leaving their area of residence. In addition, local residents can be people who remained in their place of origin during a conflict while others left as migrants; now those migrants are returning to the area. In order to participate in organised return, migrants sometimes *need to give up their* own *control* and accept that of authorities. By contrast, authorities attempt to manage organised movements and the need to keep movements and migration actors under control. When migrants exit or enter an area, local residents may *need to re-establish control* in order to cope with the new situation. For example, schools that were built for migrant children but which also accommodated local children may now close, thus leaving local residents without schooling. In places of origin that may suddenly be overwhelmed with

returnees, local residents need to adopt control-tuning strategies to cope with returnees and the pressure they may exert on the area in terms of infrastructure, food, housing and other issues. In order to keep migrants and their return under control, authorities seek funding and develop programmes with organised logistics, information dissemination, assistance packages and surveys. Authorities also *facilitate* the *control* of migrants who wish to return by assisting in the practical problems of return: "Many people want to go back to South Sudan if there is assistance in transportation. Now the transportation is problematic". (FN SUD A 201105/2)

Sharing control is one of the most important control-tuning strategies in organised return. Authorities *share control* with migrants who leave an area, with the local residents of that area and migrants who remain in that area and also, in various ways, with other authorities. Authorities can divide practical tasks among themselves, implement go-and-see visits for migrants to allow them to gain sufficient information to make a decision on return, and ascertain the situation in the place of return and the attitude of local residents there. Authorities also obtain information on migrants who stay and who are unwilling to participate in organised return or from local residents in those areas from which migrants are leaving. When the control-tuning strategy of *sharing control* is successful, positive changes and better coping possibilities arise for all migration actors in the various places related to return. In addition, through *sharing control*, authorities are able to find the best routes for return movements. Migrants who stay *facilitate* or *prevent* other migrants' *control* through offering or withholding assistance while migrants are in transit or remaining in various places. The control-tuning paths of local residents and those of migrants who stay are connected to their previous and current experiences of migrants returning to or going through "their" places. Migrants who receive assistance, feel they have successfully participated in organised return and feel welcomed by others often experience satisfactory control-tuning outcomes. By contrast, the control-tuning outcomes are mainly dissatisfactory for those who are disappointed by the role of authorities in organised return or when *re-rooting home* is unsuccessful. Just as *sharing control* in organised return is one of the most important strategies, *shared control* is one of the most significant control-tuning outcomes. *Shared control* through cooperation between returnees, authorities, local residents and migrants who stay appears at different stages of migration movements. The

intervening factors connected to organised return include the distance between places, types of return routes, accessibility of the place of origin or other location and the information and funding obtained.

> Now people are doing a self-repatriation. If you die on the way there, you will die. If you reach, you [will] reach. Here [in exile] life is no more good. (Memo 270614/22)

The control of *practical reckoning* is also practised by migration actors in connection to spontaneous return. For those migrants who stay behind and those local residents who face the exit of migrants from their area of residence, spontaneous return offers similar control-tuning paths to those of organised return. The effect of spontaneous return on the control-tuning paths of those local residents who remained in their place of origin when a significant part of their community migrated due to a conflict or other reason depends on the scale of returns to the area. However, the control-tuning paths differ for authorities and migrants in spontaneous and organised returns, as each form of return requires distinct means of controlling migration movements. In spontaneous return, authorities often play a minor role and thus need to adopt fewer control-tuning strategies to respond to control-tuning causes than in the case of organised return. However, even if authorities exert less control than in organised return, they still may play a role in migration movements, for example in relation to *exiting* an area or acquiring assistance in the form of food or non-food items. By contrast, migrants must react more strongly to control-tuning causes when they decide to participate in spontaneous return. When the distance between the place of current residence and that of return is short and/or when migrants consider the route safe, the control-tuning paths are more positive. When local residents in a place of origin or return accept and welcome returnees or when *re-rooting home* is at least partially successful, the control of *practical reckoning* is also better. When migrants return despite knowing the problems en route and are unwilling to wait for organised return, the control-tuning paths are more negative. Such negative control-tuning paths, which normally lead to dissatisfactory outcomes, relate, for instance, to migrants being abused and losing property en route, arriving at a place of origin only to find out that their house and/or land has been seized by someone else, or there being leadership conflicts in the place of return. In

addition, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes arise when local residents who stayed behind during a conflict fail to welcome returnees. Spontaneous return sometimes occurs for shorter periods or at regular intervals, such as short returns for business, visiting family and seeing how the situation is developing. In addition to satisfactory and dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes, the control-tuning paths can lead to overlapping, simultaneous and fluctuating control-tuning outcomes. Thus, the outcomes are at times satisfactory and at other times dissatisfactory, or both can exist simultaneously. For instance, satisfactory control-tuning outcomes often occur when the number of returnees is small at the beginning of return following the end of a conflict. However, as the number of returnees increases and the returnees start affecting local residents' opportunities for earning a living, the control-tuning outcomes can become dissatisfactory. Here, the intervening factors influencing the control-tuning paths include the weather, the emotions of returnees and those who stay, and the level of security and peace. Organised and spontaneous return are often distinct, but they can be also closely linked. For instance, an aspect of organised return can also be a stage in spontaneous migration movements. In such cases, organised movement can be, for example, human-smuggler-assisted movement. In addition to conflict- or disaster-induced migration, organised and spontaneous return appear also after living abroad for reasons related to, for example, education and employment. Authorities can assist returnees and their community in various ways like with material or financial assistant.

> If the peace agreement works, I will go back to South Sudan immediately. (FN EGY R 041005/5)

Reality checking and *hindsighting* can affect *practical reckoning* in such a way that a migrant decides to wait-and-see before *re-rooting home*. Authorities and/or migrants who wish to follow developments in the possibility of return or the situation or political circumstances in a place of return need to adopt control-tuning strategies of wait-and-see regarding *re-rooting home*. Authorities and migrants can wait to learn from the results of go-and-see visits to places of return or migrants can wait-and-see what happens with those who have already returned to the area. The causes and strategies for *control tuning* in relation to wait-and-see are often linked to

uncertainties. However, when migrants experience a growing interest in return and decide to allow those who have already returned or are living in the place of return to take practical steps to prepare for their return, or when they themselves begin making practical arrangements for the return, positive control-tuning strategies are often employed. For example, when there is strong evidence of peace, positive developments, infrastructure and adequate services in an area after a conflict, migrants may begin to implement their decision on *re-rooting home* and thus *possess control* or experience *gained control*. After waiting to see how the situation in a place of return develops, authorities may become aware that an organised return is possible or that they are unable to begin an assisted return; thus, positive or negative control-tuning paths arise depending on the situation. Sometimes neither migrants nor authorities are able to do anything about migrants' interest in *re-rooting home*; thus both parties experience *impartial* or *equal control*.

6.1.6. Problem confronting

> One interviewee explains that he had realised that bad things were continually happening to him and he began to wonder how to deal with them in his personal life. He could not just continue living like that. He started to work towards inner control. Asylum seekers and refugees confront problems all the time. One woman describes how you just have to control yourself from inside and remember why you are there. (Memo 150114/46)

There are various problems and challenges that require the *control tuning* of *problem confronting* during migration movements and in relation to *place coping*. *Problem confronting* is composed of *self sustaining*, *staying healthy* and *okaying*.

6.1.6.1. Self sustaining

> In the first weeks in Egypt I thought it was very difficult. When you come as a newcomer, it is not easy to get a place to sleep or to get a house. It is also not easy to get a job. Money for transportation is difficult to get. (FN EGY R 141105/1)

Self sustaining refers to the need for money and seeking to use one's own skills in migration. *Self sustaining* also explains the often-challenging employee-employer relationship and the occurrence of employment policies, rules and authority actions during migration. Thus, control is linked to skills, working to earn money, the employee-employer relationship and controlling employment-related policies, rules and authority behaviour.

Migrants' skills are an important part of controlling *self sustaining* during different phases of migration. These skills are often employment-related, they can also be skills used in everyday life, such as literacy and cooking. Migrants usually seek to use pre-existing skills, but at times they need to learn new skills in order to cope in a particular place. If migrants already possess skills they can use during migration, they adopt control-tuning paths in order to continue using them. When they are in a problematic situation and lack the skills for coping, when they want to further develop their skills or when new or previous skills allow migrants to be in better control of some aspects of their life, they adopt control-tuning paths to cope with the situation. Control concerns, for instance, a migrant working in a job during the day and studying at night in order to cope with both living costs and skill development, or migrants seeking a good superior to guarantee their possibilities for skill development. Control is achieved when migrants apply for vocational training to obtain a better future through new skills or when they build personal confidence and determination through learning skills. Some control-tuning paths also concern migrants' need to continue seeking new ways of using their pre-existing skills. Moreover, migrants can use control-tuning strategies for gaining knowledge on the functioning of a work place in order to advance their career when there have been previous difficulties in securing new tasks or more responsibility. They can also play along with work place rules in order to control their ability to achieve particular goals in relation to skills and practical issues, such as obtaining a promotion. Sometimes migrants view controlling *problem confronting* positively, as problems encourage them to work harder towards a goal. However, migrants commonly consider that *problem confronting* requires much energy and leads to a problematic life with little hope. Improving old skills or learning new skills promotes satisfactory control-tuning outcomes. By contrast, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes often occur when actors are unable to use their skills in a new place. For example, when resettled refugees arrive in a place with a high level

of technological development and education, they are sometimes unable to compete in the labour market, as the skills they possess are inadequate. *Control* can also be *momentary* and *shared*, depending on the situation. The intervening factors affecting control-tuning paths related to a migrants' skills include skill level, length of time at work, level of self-confidence and the ability to cope with difficulties.

> Quota refugee men are criticising that it is so difficult to get a job in Finland. They do not want Kela [the Social Insurance Institution] to pay them [for doing nothing]; they want to work. (FN FIN L 080805/1)

The need for money is present in every phase of migration, and there are various control-tuning paths addressing the need for money and migrants related experiences of working in different circumstances. Thus, working to earn money is a common feature of *self sustaining*. In addition, situations where people would rather work or participate in internships than receive social security benefits or other financial assistance are often present in some places of migration. Here, the control-tuning paths are connected to migrants continuing to work in difficult circumstances and/or persisting in their pursuit of jobs in order to make ends meet. Control also appears in situations where a migrant accepts any job in order to get money, takes advantage of the good economic situation in a particular place, and/or asks for work from every possible person or negotiates with an employer for more work in order to earn more money. When there is no possibility to work for money, as in the case of children whose parents have died, *relinquishing* one's own *control* is sometimes crucial in order to survive. In order to earn money, there is often a need to cooperate in relation to control. For example, authorities in a particular organisation can *facilitate* the *control* of migrants in order to help them receive money. The control-tuning paths are rather negative when migrants feel authorities fail to provide them opportunities for earning money but instead force them to take internships without pay or offer them benefits without the possibility of work. As legal work is sometimes impossible, some migrants, such as migrant street children, have no other choice than to steal to receive money. This leads to control-tuning paths that often involve all the migration actors – migrants, local residents and authorities – and different

depths of *control tuning*. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes are strongly present in migration when it comes to working to earn money. They include having no work and little money, or working long hours but still having very limited resources. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes are also connected with no longer receiving financial benefits and having difficulties in obtaining money, which lead to various problems in different aspects of life. By contrast, satisfactory control-tuning outcomes relate to success in working to earn money. Several control-tuning outcomes also explain how control changes, including *fluctuating* and *momentary control* – sometimes there is both work and money, and at other times there is neither or just one. Here, the intervening factors influencing control-tuning paths comprise, among others, the distance between places of work and home, the characteristics of an employer, the availability of loans, the availability of support from an organisation and the ability to negotiate and find work.

The importance of the employee-employer relationship is significant in *self sustaining* and is linked with positive and negative control-tuning paths. Control is often obvious in this relationship, especially as employers commonly have more control and influence than do employees. Therefore, as employees, migrants are regularly in the position of *needing to deal with forced control*, whereas employers enjoy their possibilities for being in control. More *equal control* only arises when the relationship between an employee and an employer is good. *Equal control* can also occur among employers or employees themselves. Control-tuning strategies arise in relation to employers being dissatisfied with their employees or being unwilling to invest in them. For example, dissatisfaction can lead an employer to abuse or kill employees, accuse them of stealing so as to dismiss them or fail to provide them with proper insurance or benefits in order to save time and costs and demonstrate control.

> To control their employees, employers sometimes refuse to pay salaries and say the employee is there illegally without documents. If the employee complains about not getting his/her salary, the employer suggests that the employee can go to authorities to complain if s/he so wishes. Of course, in these situations the employee cannot go to authorities – as one interviewee said, if the police catch them without

> papers, they will charge them or throw them in prison. Authorities have the control. (Memo 150114/48)

For employees, control-tuning strategies arise in connection with situations where, in order to cope with living costs, they have no choice but to continue working for an employer in a job with long hours and little free time. Employees often need to control not only their own mental health problems occurring on the job but also the potential mental health problems of an employer that could lead them to being abused. Here, the control-tuning paths relate to employees seeking ways to resign from a bad or abusive job or change to another job where there is adequate pay and no abuse. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes occur when an employer treats all employees equally well and takes account of employees' safety and needs and when an employee receives a good job. However the control-tuning outcomes are dissatisfactory when an employee continues to work in a harsh working environment or poor employee-employer relationship without human or workers' rights. Moreover, struggling with physical and mental health challenges and financial problems normally leads to dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes. From the employer's perspective, satisfactory control-tuning outcomes can relate to the ability to continue exploiting employees or to avoiding charges for injuring or killing employees. Changing circumstances lead to variation in the control-tuning outcomes, with satisfactory or dissatisfactory outcomes occurring at different times. In relation to dealing with the employee-employer relationship, the intervening factors include financial means, the characteristics of the employer and employee, gender roles and expenses like medicine, housing and food.

Employment related policies, rules and authority behaviour closely relate to the employee-employer relationship as, in many ways, they form the framework for employee-employer behaviour. Even though an employer is also an authority, and could therefore be included in the authority-behaviour perspective, the employee-employer relationship is so significant that it warrants a separate explanation, distinct from employment-related policies, rules and authority behaviour. The need to deal with employment policies, rules and authority behaviour creates control-tuning paths related to *self sustaining*. Authorities may control the rights of employers or employees according to employment policies and the practical customs of authority

behaviour. In some cases, illegal behaviour such as accepting bribes occurs, thus affecting the control of an authority and other migration actors. An authority such as the police can influence the control-tuning paths of employers and employees by, for example, siding with an employer in a case of employee abuse or murder by not charging the employer. When an employer needs to pay an authority to gain preferential treatment from the law, it is that authority not the employer who is in control. Moreover, an abused employee or the relatives of a murdered employee often suffer from a lack of control. They may, however, enhance or diminish their control by protesting or filing lawsuits against an employer or other authority. The control-tuning outcomes are often dissatisfactory from an employee perspective, and satisfactory from the standpoint of an authority. In migration, different spaces and places sometimes provide better opportunities for positive control-tuning paths and at other times deliver predominantly negative control-tuning paths. Thus, there are times of *fluctuating* and *momentary control*. The intervening factors which affect these control-tuning paths include the ability to understand and interpret emotions like frustration, fear and dissatisfaction, acceptance of corruption, the type of a government and the level of interest in seeking employment in difficult circumstances.

6.1.6.2. Staying healthy

> In the camp it is better than squatter areas, as camps are recognised by organisations and there are some services provided like health services with a small fee or for free. In the squatter area there is nothing and people do not know there are NGOs that may help. (FN SUD A 121105/1)

Staying healthy is another challenge during migration. Mental health problems are often caused by a conflict, as well as by experiences in migration movements and different places. Physical health challenges appear through disabilities, lack of medicine and problems in health care. Children's health is connected to the level of health care and their and their family's experiences of conflict. In *staying heathy*, control arises in relation to mental health, physical health and children's health.

The control of mental health issues is practised in different migration situations, but it is perhaps most significant when migration is conflict-induced, as people have experienced and/or witnessed abuse, torture, death, rape and other kinds of suffering. Mental health problems are particularly prevalent among migrants, but they also appear among authorities who have carried out terrible acts of violence and who intentionally want to cause others mental health problems as a weapon of conflict. Sometimes local residents also need to control mental health issues in relation to migration. For instance, this can occur from supporting a migrant with mental health problems or from disagreements between local residents and migrants. Here, the control-tuning causes are mainly negative and depend on the type of migration actor in question.

> Recently a church was burned. A [mentally ill] refugee man was staying in the church saying that he will kill people. So he set the church on fire and then ran away. He is now staying in the bush, and people are afraid that "he can come at night and maybe he can come and cut you". Now there is a risk and people are afraid of walking in the night. People and police have been looking for him but have not found him. (Memo 0707014/16)

In *staying healthy*, the control-tuning strategies involve either strongly individual or community-based actions. However, *sharing control* is often the most important strategy in relation to mental health problems. Migrants *share control* not only with migrant communities but also with authorities through dividing the practical responsibility for those suffering from mental health problems and those suffering from other people's mental health problems. In addition to *sharing control* with migrants, authorities also *share control* with each other by referring people with mental health problems to health care institutions, such as those dealing with torture victims, or to counselling. In turn, migrants with mental health problems react with their own control-tuning strategies to assistance from others. When accepting another's assistance, migrants can *facilitate* that person's *control* over their lives. Conversely, by rejecting assistance, migrants can rebel against the control of others. Here, the control-tuning paths are also connected to hiding mental health problems: migrants may wish to conceal their mental health challenges

and suffer alone. Sometimes control over different aspects of one's life is lost to an inability to moderate alcohol and/or drug use. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes appear when migrants with mental health problems lose custody of their children or sufferers are unable to work, study or take care of themselves due to their illness. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes arise when migrants recover or have healthier periods and can take better care of themselves and the issues in their lives. Various control-tuning outcomes also arise in connection with others caring for a migration actor with mental health problems. The presence of medical assistance, policies and laws on health matters, relevant information, the availability of alcohol and drugs and raising awareness of mental health issues are some of the intervening factors in mental-health-related control-tuning paths.

In addition to mental health, physical health is also part of controlling *problem confronting* in migration. In practice, migration movements require sufficiently good physical health when, for instance, the distances between places are long and travelling on foot is the only option. Moreover, migrants may experience difficulties in moving around in their place of residence, especially if they are disabled. In addition, physical impairments incurred through torture or short- and long-term illness add to the challenges of controlling *problem confronting* in relation to physical health. Furthermore, some migrants face organ theft and the sale of organs during migration, which also affects their physical health.

Many migrants need to adopt control-tuning paths in relation to taking care of their own physical health and that of others. When a migrant has limited resources for eating and living, they are often unable to obtain medical assistance and buy medication:

> I could not go [to the hospital] because of the money. To see a doctor you need ten pounds and then if you manage to do this, you will not have any money for medicine and examination. Now, at the moment, I have nothing, not even to light my own stove with food. Let alone the medicine and the hospital. (Memo 160414/1)

Migrants can *share control* when a person is disabled, when there is a need to collect money for a medical operation or when a disease spreads through a refugee or IDP camp. On the other hand, medical staff control the physical

health of migrants when they decide who to accept and reject for medical assistance. To enhance control in relation to physical health, actors can apply for resettlement or seek help from family members. Satisfactory control-tuning outcomes arise when migration actors receive medical attention and help for their problems and when different migration actors co-operate over the care of a sick person. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes relate particularly to situations where actors, despite their best efforts, continue to experience physical health problems and there is no way out of the situation. Dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes also appear when those trying to help fail to assist. The intervening factors in connection to physical health control-tuning paths include the presence of medical assistance and medical premises, the availability of medicine, living conditions and the level of torture or abuse.

Children's health, which also relates to mental and physical health issues, appears through various control-tuning paths in migration. Children's health also functions as a reason for families to participate in migration. Babies and young children, in particular, *have limited or no control* and are unable to actively seek control-tuning strategies to cope with the health issues affecting them. Consequently, they must *accept* the *control* of others. This is seen in practice when, for example, state or opposition forces rape or kill a child for revenge, or when a child is conceived as a result of rape and is left to die on the street because its mother cannot keep the child or her family wants her to abandon it. Moreover, there are no active control-tuning strategies available to children when a sick child is left behind during a migration movement to allow others to proceed with the movement, when a street child has a baby and leaves the baby unattended or when a baby is taken to prison alongside its mother.

> Those kids died during war when they ran to the bush. They [authorities] beat my child and she was left in the cold and died. The other one also died due to cold weather and rain. (FN UGA R 959196/5)

Parents implement different control-tuning paths in connection to children's health. Often control concerns obtaining medicine or medical assistance for children. In addition, parents need to *share control* of their children's health when they go to prison or leave their children in the hands of

medical staff. The control of children's health also arises when a street child has a baby, when a child is raped or murdered or when children are forced to abandon a sibling or their own child because of migration or in order to cope with their own lives. These children's control experiences often lead to dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes, where a lack of control entails using alcohol or drugs to forget unpleasant occurrences, which then leads to deteriorating mental and physical health. In the case of parents, dissatisfactory control-tuning outcomes arise when a child becomes sicker or dies while receiving medical treatment, or from receiving no medical attention at all. By contrast, satisfactory control-tuning outcomes include a child receiving the required medical assistance through, for example, migration to a resettlement country or a child learning to cope with negative events experienced during previous stages of migration. The intervening factors that impact control-tuning paths include the availability of medicine, the significance of a migrant's status in receiving medical assistance and the distance between places.

6.1.6.3. Okaying

Okaying explains the absence of problems, a decrease in problems and/or the way migration actors give the appearance of there being no problems with the issues they face during or in relation to migration. Migration actors, including migrants, local residents and authorities, control problems through *okaying* in relation to facing no problems.

> In many interviews, there is a contradiction between "things are ok here" and the many difficulties in practice – what does this mean? (Memo 240614/55)

A migrant practises control-tuning in order to avoid tensions with others or prevent their negative reactions. When authorities and local residents say there are no problems in relation to migrants and migration movements, this can be a simple statement of fact, but it can also be a strategy for reducing the negative behaviour of others or avoiding problems between individuals or groups. In particular, authorities engage in this activity to control different political issues. Migration actors can also face fewer problems than before,

which they interpret as the absence of problems and as having control. Here, the control-tuning outcomes relate to migrants feeling more at ease and in control of their lives due to an absence of or reduction in problems.

> The change in Egypt for me is that now I do not hear the noise of a shooting gun. In South Sudan this was heard all the time and I was running all the time. I was looking for a place where there is no noise of the gun. It is ok now. (FN EGY R 261005/1)

In the absence of problems, there is no need for a migrant to adopt particular control-tuning strategies in relation, for example, to applying for refugee status or moving on to another place. Moreover, migrants sometimes believe that if they had remained in their place of origin, there would be no problems and no need for a particular control-tuning strategy. In *okaying*, satisfactory control-tuning outcomes are more common than dissatisfactory outcomes, and cooperation between different migration actors appears to occur smoothly. However, when migration actors continue to fear other migration actors and repeat that everything is ok in order to avoid problems, the control-tuning outcome is *feared control*. In the absence of a control-tuning cause for adopting a particular control–tuning strategy, there is no particular control-tuning outcome. Here the intervening factors include the ability to disguise the truth, emotions like fear, changes in the prevailing circumstances and the ability to understand and interpret.

6.2. Summary of space and place in the Theory of Control Tuning

In the context of *place coping*, the Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates the centrality of space and place in migration. In the Theory, space and place appear through various actions and characteristics (figure 2). Migration actors' experiences of spaces and places and the meanings they attribute to them vary and are subject to change. This study uses the concept of space to refer to a more abstract that does not evoke any particular strong feelings or thoughts. By contrast, a place is a space with a given meaning, experience and feeling. A place is significant to an actor. Everyday life occurs in spaces and places. Social interaction, relationships and actions happen in space and place.

They form networks and appear in relation to structures thus affecting them and being affected by them. Therefore, space and place are also lived.

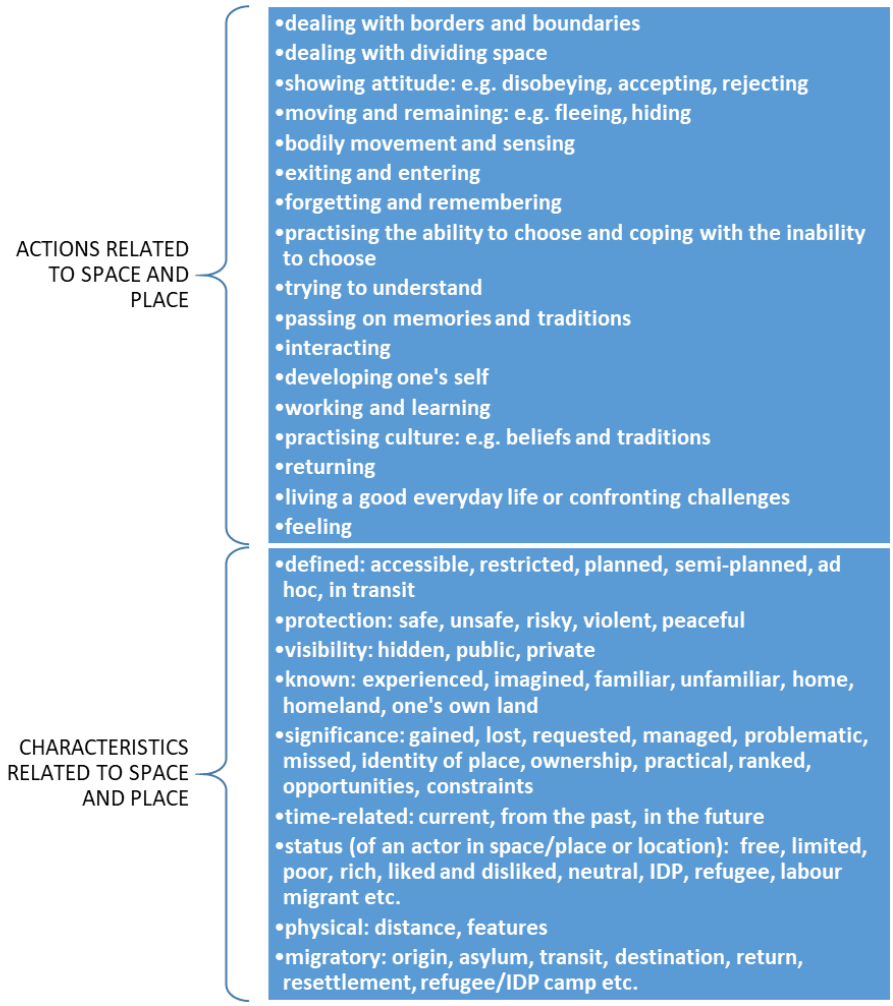

Figure 2. Occurrence of space and place through examples of actions and characteristics in the Theory of Control Tuning.

In *multi routing* space and place are seen as geographical physical spaces and places that have concrete boundaries, such as the borders of areas and states. These are found especially in *exiting* spaces and places, and moving from one space or place to another. These types of spaces and places involve *document solutioning* where documents for *exiting* and entering particular spaces and places are required. At times, spaces and places are entered and

exited without authority permission. *Document solutioning* demonstrates how spaces and places are politicised through political decisions and policies and the authorities' control over documents, bureaucracy, spaces and places. These concrete but also felt bordered spaces and places also concern involuntary migration, where forced migrants (including individuals who are trafficked, abducted or sold as sex or domestic workers or child soldiers) migrate to spaces or places against their will. Consequently, they are spaces and places where people are denied freedom of movement due to their position. They also include spaces and places that can be used for fleeing and hiding in order to escape other places. These spaces and places may provide some safety.

Authorities, in particular, not only seek to control spaces and places as an end in itself, but also as a tool for controlling migrants and local residents. This space- and place-related control appears especially in forced relocations. The authorities often lack a particular personal connection to these spaces; rather, they see them simply as areas to be emptied of unwanted people in order to advance so-called development or personal interests. By contrast, residents of such spaces have given them meanings, even, at times, considered them home, and they may react against the control of these spaces, which they see as places. Places are important enough to fight for, due to their personal importance or significance for personal needs. Thus, physical places form part of migration actors' emotional landscape and are connected with meaning through memories, traditions and their appearance. Places are connected with situations in their concrete or imagined form. These places may be viewed as objects of like or dislike, places to be protected from change, or places from which migration actors must escape due to feelings of fear and insecurity. They are places related to feelings towards loved ones, to being dissatisfied with one's present way of life or to the need to return to another place. Spaces receive meaning and become places through their ability to provide employment, the possibilities for living well, the opportunity for entering a status determination process, or as sites of action and behaviour over previous decades or centuries. Some spaces and place require no *exiting* or movement.

In *place sensing*, the feelings related to places are at the centre of *place coping*. Feelings and the way an actor sees a place are used for prioritising places for different purposes. The societies and communities in various places offer migration actors different degrees of choice; thus, changing places

becomes significant, especially when the possibility to choose is limited. Moreover, the *freedom to choose* with whom to *local mingle* is tied to place, as it varies according to the physical location of migration actors and what is considered appropriate behaviour in that place. Changing from one place to another can offer previously unavailable opportunities to communicate and spend time with people. It can also provide the chance to avoid *local mingling* with unwanted people. Migration actors also consider places in terms of their connection with family, friends and relatives. Thus, places become important or insignificant depending on whether there are important people staying there. Places exert an important effect on relationships, both through an actor being present in that place, for instance through norms on how to behave while walking on the street, and also in terms of emotion, in the way that actor feels s/he should behave.

The *freedom to choose* is also connected to place through developing skills and choosing a belief. Here place not only forms part of the mental landscape of migration actors but is also strongly present as a place that offers opportunities and acceptance or rejection from other people. Different places may offer different possibilities for self development; thus, migration from one place to another is important, not only for individual actors but also for their community who may benefit from actors' skills. Places receive meaning and importance through the possibilities for choice. Migration actors also define places through the beliefs that are entrenched there and how their own belief is accepted. Place is also significant for providing escape from those who reject one's own beliefs. Issues like human rights, which are central to the *freedom to choose*, are also linked to particular places. In turn, *emotional ride* is heavily connected to the meaning of home. That meaning varies widely according to the actor in question, although home usually includes the people who live in a particular place, most commonly family members, relatives and friends. Home is also important for local residents and authorities in relation to migration, especially if they feel their home is threatened by migrants, or when their home is a place that welcomes migrants. Migration actors are considering places when they think what home, homeland and/or own land means to them in relation to its nature, location and people, and who a migrant is in relation to home. Memories and feelings related to places are significant. Such memories and feelings may be passed on to other generations, but they can also be intentionally forgotten. In addition, place is considered as providing statuses

– either legal or adopted. Particular statuses are often associated with migration actors coming from specific spaces and places, and those statuses may change when moving from one space or place to another. Such changes occur particularly with adopted statuses, which exist outside the legal framework in a given place.

Spatial manoeuvring reveals the importance of the imagined and real qualities of living in a particular place, the availability of funds, the safety of migration actors and the way migration actors divide space for different purposes during and in relation to migration. In migration, migrants relate to spaces and places through wanting to live in a particular place, actually living in a place and wanting to visit, spend time in and/or transit through a particular place. In addition to the needs of migrants and their loved ones, local residents and authorities also affect migrants' desire to live in a given place. Other migration actors' attitudes, especially towards migrants, can thus have a positive or negative impact on the desirability of a place. In practice, such attitudes can affect the need for migrants to move away or to remain in that place. Migrants feeling welcome in a place can also increase immigration to that place. Moreover, local residents who feel threatened by the change of their place of residence after migrants have moved there, may opt to leave the place. Authorities and local residents can also block and limit migrant access to spaces and places. On the other hand, migrants can rebel against their limited use of space by finding spaces that are accessible and by spending time in spaces and places that are neither known nor restricted by others.

Much variation exists in the way spaces and places are seen and in the speed and nature of migration actors' reaction to their space- and place-related needs. Experiences in spaces and places can be real or they can be imagined and expected. Spaces and places are encountered through personal experience and through others' stories and experiences, which allows them to become from unfamiliar spaces to familiar places in an actor's mind. *Spatial manoeuvring* is often dependent on having money, being able to pay for housing and owning property. Here spaces and places are either within or beyond the reach of migration actors, most commonly migrants. Migrants may either like the spaces or places where they need to cope, or they may dislike them but are forced to stay for financial and property-ownership reasons. Moreover, some spaces and places can be considered safe whereas others are unsafe. Here, again, it is not only the real experiences of migration actors that

play a central role; imagined situations that emerge after having heard the stories of others living or spending time in particular spaces and places are also extremely significant. When authorities determine where migrants live, this also gives meaning to spaces and places in migrants' minds. The realities of living among local residents, promote positive, neutral or negative images and feelings towards particular places and their safety. *Keeping safe* in relation to spaces and places is also apparent when a person chooses to flee or hide as a reaction to the situation and characteristics of a space or place. In practice, such places include refugee settlements and camps for the internally displaced, as well as authority-controlled border areas. Migration actors' view of the safety of a given place varies according to whether migration movements are spontaneous or assisted. Depending on the space, place and particular situation, either spontaneous or assisted movement can be thought safe while the other may be considered dangerous. Migrants and local residents who live in the same spaces give those spaces meaning and convert them into places through using them in their everyday life and as locations for interaction. When migrants and local residents use the same school premises or live in the same housing, these spaces can become either positive, negative or somewhat neutral places. Space can be seen as something abstract that can be divided into smaller spaces used by different migration actors, and, through spending time there, these spaces can become places for a person, family or a group. *Dividing space* can be seen through the possibilities for privacy offered by a space such as a prison or a shared dwelling. Spaces can also be divided according to group membership, which is the case in refugee settlements where spaces are allocated according to time of arrival.

Establishing a new normal emphasises the importance of similarities and differences in cultural traditions, behaviour and cultural products in different spaces and places. Migration actors reject, accept or try to balance and understand the cultural traditions and behaviour between and within different places. The roles of families change during migration according to place. Generational and gender differences may become more pronounced and facilitate positive or negative changes for migration actors. Moving from one space or place to another often places a migration actor in an unfamiliar environment that may or may not resemble previous places. The sense of strangeness is particularly strong when the physical space is very different from the places to which the migration actor is accustomed. Changing

surroundings can be frightening and lead to the rejection of a place. By contrast, when migration actors identify something familiar in a space, a more positive attitude related to place is often formed. In addition, place is connected with differences in understanding the behaviour and speech of migration actors. When an actor understands how people in a particular place behave and handle issues and the treatment of others is neutral or positive, s/he normally experiences greater acceptance towards that place, whereas when s/he feels lost, confused and out of place and faces negative treatment, the place feels unfamiliar and has negative associations.

In *re-rooting home* place of origin or place of home, which can mean the same or different places or locations, play a central role in migration. This place is in many ways at the core of migration actors' experiences and feelings, especially those of migrants. A place of origin/home establishes a point of comparison for other places during migration. A place of origin/home is the reference point for other places, and the situations and conditions there define the need and possibilities for onward movement and return. In *re-rooting home*, both the migrant's place of origin/home and other places related to migration also affect return through the psychological changes experienced in various places and towards distinct places. Wishing to *re-root home* but being unable to do so can affect the way migration actors feel about and view not only their current place of residence but also their place of origin/home and perhaps other migration-related places, as does successful *re-rooting home*. In *re-rooting home*, migration actors also speculate about what could have been and what could have happened; thus, they connect places both to historical events and also to the future through considering the possibilities of return. Places are linked with good and bad memories, life and death struggles, lacking the opportunity for personal development, and many other issues. Migration can also be seen as a way of learning about distinct places, thus as something positive which would never have occurred without migration. In *re-rooting home*, places are strongly connected to practical concerns, for instance how to physically travel from one place to another when returning to place of origin/home. When people physically leave a space or place, this affects the place perception not only of migrants but also of the authorities and local residents. Suddenly fewer or greater numbers of people are present in a particular place, or the need arises to physically move a large number of people from one place to another, as can occur in organised return. Physically seeing

their place of origin/home normally has a great impact on migrants' lives, both mentally and physically. It can create longing, disappointment or the need to settle in a physically challenging situation. When migrating to place of origin/home, the distances between places can be physically and mentally overwhelming. Walking, riding in a car or flying can entail different experiences of places in *re-rooting home*.

In *problem confronting*, spaces and places contribute to the variation in the skills needed to cope. Skills acquired in one place may be irrelevant in another place. Changing spaces and places requires an actor to obtain new skills in order to cope in the new society, earn money and deal with employee-employer relationships. The societal position of migration actors often changes when they migrate from one space or place to another. Moreover, the spaces in which they are able to move also alter. It may be the case that migration actors can only use the space defined by their employer, whereas in a previous place they were not spatially limited by any rules, policies or authority figures. Spaces and places are also defined by health problems. Mental and physical health problems affect the way migration actors use, experience and imagine spaces and places, and they also affect physical movement in spaces. Fear of stepping outside can make an actor's place of residence feel like a prison. Moreover, the movement of disabled migration actors may be restricted because of the inaccessibility of spaces and places. Furthermore, authorities and local residents sometimes cause health problems for others and this way control the use of a space or place. Limitations on using particular spaces or places due to health problems are at times promoted by authorities as benefiting the migration actor. In addition, fear of the mentally ill can limit the spatial movement of those without health problems. For some, health problems make migration impossible, even if they would like to migrate. Health problems also function as an incentive for changing places, especially when the problems concern a sick child. Certain places are often seen as somewhat problem-free, especially when an actor has previously lived in a challenging environment. Thus, migration actors associate such places with positive or neutral experiences or feelings.

6.3. Summary of the Theory of Control Tuning

Chapters Five and Six have described the way migration actors process control by *control tuning*. Control-tuning paths arise when migration actors face a control-tuning cause and a negative condition, thereby experiencing discontent with the control situation, either in relation to themselves or to others. Consequently, migration actors adopt a control-tuning strategy (or strategies) to deal with the control situation to produce the desired control-tuning outcome. Intervening factors – basic factors, varying factors and control supportive instruments – in turn affect control-tuning paths. When control-tuning outcomes are satisfactory, a positive condition arises and there is no need to attempt to change the control situation and to continue with the same or other strategies. However, if a control-tuning outcome is dissatisfactory and migration actors experience a negative condition, the control-tuning path continues and the same or other strategies are used to change the prevailing control situation. Many control-tuning paths can occur simultaneously; even if one control-tuning path ends, others are often still pursued and new ones begin. The Theory of Control Tuning recognises 31 control-tuning causes, 27 control-tuning strategies and 22 control-tuning outcomes.

As shown, migration-related control-tuning paths appear at various stages of migration, to different migration actors and while moving and staying put. They occur in connection to various events, situations, feelings, objects and actors. I have explained how *control tuning* occurs in *place coping* and in relation to *multi routing*, *place sensing*, *spatial manoeuvring*, *establishing a new normal*, *re-rooting home* and *problem confronting*. These categories include several properties connected to practical migration incident groups that require *control tuning*. *Multi routing* consists of *exiting* and *document solutioning*; *place sensing* of *freedom to choose* and *emotional ride*; *spatial manoeuvring* of *place picking*, *operating funds*, *keeping safe* and *dividing space*; *establishing a new normal* includes *cultural customising*, *family-role adjusting* and *being surrounded by the unfamiliar*; *re-rooting home* consists of *reality checking*, *hindsighting* and *practical reckoning*; and *problem confronting* of *self sustaining*, *staying healthy* and *okaying*. In addition to *place coping*, control-tuning paths in the Theory of Control Tuning also occur

in relation to *link keeping*, *encountering authority* and *knowledge dealing*, which will be presented in more detail in future publications.

PART FOUR: THE THEORY OF CONTROL TUNING AS A PART OF A LARGER SETTING

7. POSITION OF THE STUDY

In this chapter I explain the philosophical and disciplinary context of this study and the Theory of Control Tuning. The new theory was generated using the methodology of grounded theory, which as such contains no epistemological or ontological positions; however, the study and the Theory of Control Tuning can be placed in a larger interdisciplinary and geographical philosophical context. I demonstrate the importance of phenomenology and hermeneutics for this study and how they work as a loose philosophical framework. In addition, I explain developments in humanistic geography and their connection to this study, and discuss multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity in relation to the Theory of Control Tuning.

7.1. Philosophical framework and disciplinary context

Even if the traditional disciplinary training of geographers has seldom combined philosophy and geography (Entrikin 2001: 426), it is, however, necessary to place this research and the Theory of Control Tuning in a larger interdisciplinary and geographical philosophical context. The research interfaces with phenomenological and hermeneutical philosophies, but it also differs from them in some important respects. This chapter explains these similarities and differences.

From a disciplinary perspective, the research can be related to humanistic geography, and the core methodology it employs is that of grounded theory. As such, the methodology of grounded theory contains no epistemological or ontological positions. In this chapter, I present phenomenology and hermeneutics as a loose philosophical (but not methodical) framework for this research. In addition, I explain the present study's connection to humanistic geography. I begin with the historical background of phenomenology,

hermeneutics and humanistic geography, and then I introduce their relationship to the study and the Theory of Control Tuning.

7.1.1. Phenomenological and hermeneutical position

> A human science differs, first and foremost, from a physical science because its subject matter is *man*. As agent, man interprets and gives meanings to his everyday actions and relations with other men and things. His interpretations and meanings constitute his lived world, and they exist prior to, and independent of, any scientific explanations of them. It is the lived world of man that provides the proper subject matter for a human science. (Christensen 1982: 37)

In contrast to many phenomenological studies, the phenomenological position of this research constitutes its loose philosophical framework rather than its methodological basis. The *place coping* context of the Theory of Control Tuning is based on an assumption, arising from the primary data, that people's behaviour is part of their conscious and subconscious experience in space and place. In my research, phenomenology contributes to an emphasis on meaning and experience in human action. Phenomenology is widely used in different fields of human science, including geography, philosophy, nursing, anthropology, communication studies, education, ethnography, history, pedagogy, psychology and sociology (see e.g. Natanson 1973a). A wide body of phenomenology literature exists for those wishing to explore the topic more comprehensively, but, in this chapter, I introduce the history and meaning of phenomenology solely as it relates to my research and the discipline of geography.

As described in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Smith 2013), phenomenology can be understood as:

> [T]he study of 'phenomena': appearances of things, or things as they appear in our experience, or the ways we experience things, thus the meanings things have in our experience. Phenomenology studies conscious experience as experienced from the subjective or first person point of view. This field of philosophy is then to be distinguished from, and related to, the other main fields of philosophy: ontology (the study of being or what is), epistemology (the study of knowledge), logic (the

> study of valid reasoning), ethics (the study of right and wrong action), etc.

As a historical movement and philosophical tradition, phenomenology began in the first half of the 20th century. The main phenomenological philosophers include Edmund Husserl (see e.g. Husserl 1970, 1988, 2002; Ströker 1988; Peet 1998; Johnston et al. 2000), Martin Heidegger (see e.g. Heidegger 1947, 1949, 1961, 1966, 1984, 2000, 2002a; 2002b; Wollan 2003; Malpas 2008a; Strohmayer 2015), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (see e.g. Merleau-Ponty 1998; 2004), Jean-Paul Sartre (see e.g. Sartre 1977) and Alfred Schutz (see e.g. Schutz 1967, 1975, 1976, 1990; Grathoff 1978). Some philosophers describe the discipline of phenomenology as the proper foundation of all philosophy. The methods and characterisation of phenomenology were widely debated by its founder, Edmund Husserl, and this process has been continued by his successors. Husserl was interested in understanding so-called eidetic variation, i.e. looking at the actual experience of a fact and then modifying it in a free fantasy. Husserl used the methods of reduction (eidetic and transcendental) and parenthesising to exclude, for instance, sciences and the natural world in order to understand the nature of intentionally referring to a given thing and to investigate pure consciousness (Ströker 1988: 252–253; Husserl 1998). Husserl considered that phenomenology concerned consciousness, all sorts of mental processes, acts and act-correlates (Husserl 1998: xix-xxii). The world exists in space and time, containing physical things and living creatures with value-characteristics and practical-characteristics (e.g. a man who is a friend or a table with books on it). We receive conscious experiences, we live through them and we can perform them. The world in which a man finds himself is at the same time his surrounding world. The world is there whether we experience it or not:

> I am conscious of a world endlessly spread out in space, endlessly becoming and having endlessly become in time. I am conscious of it: that signifies, above all, that intuitively I find it immediately, that I experience it. By my seeing, touching, hearing, and so forth, and in the different modes of sensuous perception, corporeal physical things with some spatial distribution or other *simply there for me*, '*on hand*' in the literal or the figurative sense, whether or not I am particularly heedful

> of them and busied with them in my considering, thinking, feeling, or willing. (Husserl 1998: 51)

In phenomenology, Husserl emphasised intentionality, which refers to the relationship between a person and the object or events of his/her experience. We give meaning to things, activities and places that belong to and signify our world. As Relph (1970: 194) explains, "Man is understood as the source of acts of intention, and it is only through the study of man's intentions that we can comprehend the world, for it is these that give meaning to man's behavior". Phenomenology leads from conscious experience to conditions that help to give experience its intentionality. Intentionality is facilitated by a large number of enabling conditions, including cultural context, language, social background and bodily skills (Smith 2013).

Even though conscious experience is the root of phenomenology, it should be noted that in our daily life we are only implicitly aware of most of the things and events around us. In addition, we are rarely explicitly conscious of practical activities like walking or speaking. Therefore, phenomenology also recognises that we may need to take into consideration the semi-conscious and even unconscious mental activities related to our experiences. This is how the Theory of Control Tuning should be understood. The *control tuning* performed by migration actors is in many ways a conscious, semi-conscious and unconscious migration-related behaviour that in the context of *place coping* specifically concerns space and place. Control-tuning strategies are conscious and subconscious actions which can vary considerably in terms of the amount of time and effort invested in them by migration actors. Nevertheless, even though many migration actors recognise control as part of their migration experience and intentionally adopt control-tuning strategies, *control tuning* as a pattern of behaviour is often also unconscious.

My study follows Husserl's ideas in the sense that I value the everyday, lived experiences of those involved in the phenomenon under study – in this case migration. In addition, I have taken a fresh approach to the concretely experienced phenomena of control through the action of *control tuning*.

Phenomenology has no simple, straightforward, universally accepted definition (Natanson 1973b). Traditionally, phenomenology has been divided into several types (see Embree 1997; Smith 2013). Phenomenology has also received various interpretations in geography (for phenomenology and

geography see e.g. Pickels 1985). As explained by the geographer Anne Buttimer (1976: 279), phenomenology is difficult to define and the variety of descriptions reflect fundamental differences among phenomenologists themselves. Moreover, the fluidity of the boundaries between phenomenology and other fields further complicates its definition. Buttimer understands the core concern of so-called pure phenomenology as the analysis and interpretation of consciousness, particularly the conscious cognition of direct experience. Buttimer (ibid.) highlights three distinct positions among phenomenologists: the pure phenomenology of Husserl, the existential phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty, Marcel and Schutz, and the hermeneutical phenomenology of Ricoeur (see e.g. Ihde 1971; Ricoeur 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988a, 1988b). Phenomenology opposes positivism and rejects the assumption of the separation of subject ('the observer') and object ('the observed'), as well as taken-for-granted presuppositions of a priori frameworks. Instead, phenomenology supports the idea that human beings "exist primordially not as subjects manipulating objects in the external, 'real', physical world, but as being in, alongside and toward the world" (Pickels 1985: 17). Pickels (ibid: 3) explains that phenomenology seeks to disclose the world as it reveals itself prior to scientific inquiry, as that which is pre-given and presupposed by the sciences. According to Pickels, phenomenology seeks to divulge the original way of being prior to its objectification by the empirical sciences. This original way of being forms the basis for the very first philosophy of the sciences, providing, among others, the foundation for the genesis of the empirical sciences from pre-theoretical experience.

Relph explains that most phenomenologists seem to agree on at least three basic issues:

> First, the importance of man's "lived-world" of experience; second, an opposition to the "dictatorship and absolutism of scientific thought over other forms of thinking"; and third, an attempt to formulate some alternative method of investigation to that of hypothesis testing and the development of theory. (1970: 193)

There has been discussion on whether the anthropocentric basis of phenomenology can offer geographers, who need to understand both human beings and nature, a suitable way to research the world (see e.g. Relph 1970).

Phenomenology has been seen by humanistic geographers not only as a way to reject both the assumptions and methods of physical science, especially those of positivistic science, but also as an alternative to positivism (Relph 1970: 195; Entrikin 1976; Gregory 1978; Christensen 1982: 41–42). Moreover, according to some geographers, phenomenology presents the possibility for a more humanistic orientation in geography (Buttimer 1976: 278). Geographers mainly use phenomenology in relation to the environment, space and different geographical aspects of human experiences, meanings, situations and values.

For Husserl, phenomenology begins within concrete, lived existence in the world. According to Husserl, the *natural world* is an essential dimension of all possible experience in and of the social world, and thus he introduced the concept of *lifeworld* (lebenswelt) (Bengtsson 1998: 17–37; Dahlberg et al. 2001). When examining the lifeworld, the question of meaning is central, and meaning in everyday experience is something that human science seeks to understand. Thus, we can extend our understanding of human experience through lifeworld research (Dahlberg et al. 2001: 49). Husserl saw phenomenology as the key to basic science in the lifeworld, and the lifeworld perspective is important in both phenomenology and hermeneutic philosophy. Even though Husserl introduced the term and theory of lifeworld, however, his philosophy is classified as transcendental phenomenology rather than so-called lifeworld phenomenology or hermeneutical phenomenology.

For Merleau-Ponty, the lifeworld signifies how we are to the world, which refers to how we relate to and interact with the world (ibid: 47–49). Merleau-Ponty considered that access to the lifeworld occurs through our bodies, and he emphasised the body in relation to space and time: "We must therefore avoid saying that our body is in space, or in time. It inhabits space and time". He also states, "I am not in space and time, nor do I conceive space and time; I belong to them, my body combines with them and includes them" (Merleau-Ponty 1998: 39–40). Lifeworld phenomenology and the concept of lifeworld have directed attention in geography, especially humanistic geography, to the importance of everyday life, human experience and meaning in relation to space and place. This approach has been expounded by scholars such as Buttimer (1976) and Relph (1976b). However, whereas Relph considers phenomenology a method of revealing the individual, subjective experience of an agent, Buttimer seeks to demonstrate the intersubjectively shared

meanings of agents in their lifeworld and the scientists studying these agents (Christensen 1982: 40).

Husserl's work and the idea of transcendence and transcendental subjectivity cause much discussion among researchers conducting lifeworld research. According to Husserl, it is possible to step out of one's own subjective experience and observe the world or a phenomenon from a purely epistemological and objective perspective (so called *bracketing*). However, many researchers consider it impossible to experience such pure consciousness; rather, pre-understanding in relation to the lifeworld is always present. Thus, it is a matter of taking note of one's pre-understanding and analysing one's own experiences, thoughts and perspectives in order to create self-awareness as a person, or researcher, in relation to a particular phenomenon (Dahlberg et al. 2001).

For Heidegger (1978) the concept of *in-der-welt-sein* (being in the world) means that humans can be seen as being in a world context, a world of tradition, a world of history and also a world of other humans. Heidegger highlighted the intersubjectivity of the world: we are there with other people, and if we are alone, it is because someone else is absent. Moreover, Heidegger also developed the idea of *Dasein* (being there) in relation to time and space, which is of particular interest to geographers. In addition, geographers have also been interested in Heidegger's ideas on *dwelling* and space (Heidegger 1971: 145–161; Malpas 2006). Dwelling can be understood in relation to place through the idea that where man dwells is where he is at home and where he has a place. Heidegger describes the relationship between locations, space and dwelling as follows (Heidegger 1971: 157) "man's relation to locations, and through locations to spaces, inheres in his dwelling. The relationship between man and space is none other than dwelling, strictly thought and spoken".

In his book *Phenomenology, science and geography* (1985), Pickels identifies the need to reconsider geography's understanding of phenomenology and, in particular, the way it has interpreted and adapted Husserl's phenomenology. Pickels argues that phenomenology and existentialism are, in fact, the predominant philosophies in humanistic geography and that, moreover, Husserl's lifeworld claims have been misinterpreted. He also indicates that those geographers who have criticised phenomenology have exploited its limitations as a means of justifying other perspectives and approaches, such as idealism and positivism. Pickels also

highlights the fact that due to such confusion and misinterpretation, the theoretical development of the phenomenological perspective has, from the outset, been confined to criticism of scientism, positivism, or natural empiricism.

In contrast to phenomenology, where we describe our experiences, hermeneutics involves the interpretations of those experiences in a context. My study also reflects the philosophy of hermeneutics – the understanding gained through interpretation. Hermeneutics is not a unified tradition; instead, it has been developed by many different researchers and philosophers (for a critique of hermeneutics see e.g. Habermas 1981). Hermeneutics was initially developed by Friedrich Schleiermacher (see e.g. Schleiermacher 1998) and Wilhelm Dilthey (see e.g. Dilthey et al. 1996) and their ideas were subsequently adapted and extended by various philosophers and researchers. Hermeneutic phenomenologists include, for example, Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer (1996; 1999a; 1999b; 2004) and Paul Ricoeur. Even though hermeneutics is often linked to understanding written texts (see e.g. Heidegger 1971), today it is also employed in the study of verbal and nonverbal communication. In the hermeneutical sense, my study places the uttermost importance on spoken language during fieldwork. I recorded these oral narratives as field notes, which I then coded according to grounded theory procedure. Schleiermacher, who introduced hermeneutics as a systematic method of interpretation, underlined the importance of the author behind a text as well as the need to understand the significance of context (Dahlberg et al. 2001: 70–73). In my research, I consider that Schleiermacher's concept of the author refers to the migration actors who I conversed with and interviewed to be able to understand their interpretation of their own situation, past, present and future. As a researcher, I was required to interpret the actors' own interpretations and understandings in order to take the descriptive data to the level of conceptualisation. As mentioned by Dilthey (1996: 250), the ultimate goal of the hermeneutic process is to understand an author better than he understands himself. In my research, not all migration actors were consciously aware of the behavioural pattern of *control tuning* they were performing while dealing with migration-related issues. As I revealed the behavioural pattern of *control tuning* through their experiences, I was thus able to interpret migration actors' experiences in the migration context better than they were themselves.

The world is understood by humans through life itself, in its historicality and temporality. According to Heidegger, interpretations are not direct reflections of the "real" world but rather originate from pre-structures found in our internal world. This notion was adopted by Gadamer, who, while disagreeing with Heidegger on some issues, based many of his ideas on Heidegger's work. Gadamer's work on hermeneutics, especially the importance of dialogue, prejudices and our own history and tradition as the basis for understanding serve as the loose philosophical framework for my study at a primarily individual level. It was necessary to consider migrants parts of a particular context: they were individuals with their experiences and own understandings of their situation, but set against a larger context. This context was not just the practical, everyday environment created by authorities, local residents, migrants, ongoing politics and rules; it was also migration actors' individual histories, which had led them to the situation in which they found themselves at the time of the interviews and observation. During the fieldwork, I engaged in practical dialogue with individuals who were part of the phenomenon of migration and who were also engaged in dialogue among themselves and among different actors. In addition, I was in a dialogue with myself, as was each migration actor in dialogue with him or herself. In practice, this dialogue meant exploring one's own understanding and interpretation of various situations and events in migration. Migration actors interpreted their own experiences and then shared them with me to increase my knowledge and, at times, request my interpretations of what had happened to them and what was occurring in the spaces and places where they were living and spending time. Furthermore, these migration actors considered their experiences of migration-related issues against a backdrop of what Gadamer terms prejudices. These actors had their own interpretations of their previous experiences, and they linked them to their present concerns and interests in migration-related issues when they experienced them and gave them meanings. During the interviews, interviewees would remark that they had not thought about a particular aspect of their experience, thus demonstrating that their understanding of their experience had increased due to the research. In hermeneutics, meanings are also interpreted in their historical and cultural context, and this approach was applied in my research to both interviews and conversations as well as to the coding of field notes. In order to interpret migration actors' experiences, meanings and interpretations

within their historical and cultural context, as a researcher it was important to experience and determine, as much as possible, the various cultural and historical backgrounds of the different geographical research areas.

In phenomenology and hermeneutics, the interpretation of subject-object is more important than in grounded theory research. Even though phenomenology generally rejects the assumption of a separation between subject and object, there is a debate over the extent to which objectivity is possible. In grounded theory research, all is data; thus, both the actors connected to the phenomenon under investigation and the researcher can include their own ideas and experiences in the study. Consequently, as a researcher, I included my ideas, perceptions and experiences in relation to migration as part of the data from which the new theory arose. In grounded theory there is no pursuit of objectivity; the only requirement is that the researcher's experiences and ideas are included in the data through memoing and that they are sorted just like any other data used for theory development. The methodology of grounded theory allowed me, as a researcher, to provide the opportunity for the interviewees and other migration actors to describe their personal migration-related experiences in their own words. My task was to contextualise their experiences and interpretations and to conceptualise the stories and observation data I obtained from the field. Thus, in my research, hermeneutical philosophy played a part in the data collection primarily as a means of valuing the interpretations and understanding of those with personal migration-related experiences. This was achieved while also giving noteworthiness to my own interpretations while analysing the data. My duty as a researcher was thus to order the migration actors' understandings, meanings and interpretations so as to reveal a basic social process, which was then labelled with suitable concepts in order to bring the experiences, meanings and interpretations to a theoretical level.

In phenomenology, great emphasis is placed on description, and, in my research, description was indeed important for the fieldwork and data collection through interviews, conversations and observation. However, as I followed classic grounded theory methodology rather than the methods of phenomenology, there was a need to leave the description behind when I took the data to the next level through conceptualisation. Nevertheless, the phenomenological philosophical framework reflects on my study in the sense that, just like in grounded theory, instead of starting from an existing theory,

the researcher remains open to the experiences of human beings in the world and has as few preconceptions as possible. For example, Gadamer calls for openness, which is something that is also expected from grounded theorists. As researchers, our minds must be open to the possibility of discovering something new – of seeing its "otherness" (Dahlberg et al. 2001: 81).

The phenomenology of the 1970s can be seen as a reaction against mathematical models and theories of man's behaviour in space; thus, phenomenology can be considered somewhat resistant to theory formation, instead allowing human beings' experiences and understanding to prevail in a descriptive manner. In my research, as in phenomenology in general, descriptive knowledge plays an important role. This knowledge comes in the form of migration actors' experiences and their given meanings related to migration as well as my own experiences and understandings, which are in the form of collected data. However the descriptive data was then taken to a higher level through conceptualisation, thereby creating a new migration theory, the Theory of Control Tuning. In phenomenology, a theory is often considered something that presents an ultimate truth. In response to this, I suggest that rather than attempting to present the final truth in the form of a theory, grounded theory simply strives to show one way of seeing how a social process or processes occur through man's experience and understanding. Therefore, I believe that phenomenology can also provide the basis for research aimed at theory formation through conceptualisation instead of solely supporting research that reveals human experiences at a purely descriptive level.

As mentioned previously, this research uses phenomenological and hermeneutical ideas as a loose philosophical framework, while being based on the methodology of grounded theory. Therefore, it is important to summarise some of the differences between especially the phenomenological and grounded theory approaches. First, in grounded theory all is data and consequently the subject-object debate is less significant than in phenomenology. The aim of a pure phenomenological study is to describe, whereas in grounded theory description is avoided and conceptualisation is encouraged for theory generation. Moreover, the view on theory formation is different. In the methodology of grounded theory, theory development is the main aim, whereas in phenomenology descriptive research is expected. In grounded theory research, a phenomenon functions as the starting point rather than as the core of the research. In grounded theory, unlike

phenomenology, a basic social or psychological process or processes can be the end-result of the research. However, grounded theory methodology and phenomenological philosophy both share the idea of staying open to humans' experiences, given meaning and interpretations of a particular phenomenon rather than starting from a hypothesis developed at the beginning of the study.

7.1.2. Humanistic geography

> Humanistic geography reflects upon geographical phenomena with the ultimate purpose of achieving a better understanding of man and his condition. Humanistic geography is thus not an earth science in its ultimate aim. It belongs with the humanities and the social sciences to the extent that they all share the hope of providing an accurate picture of the human world. (Tuan 1976: 266)

Within the framework of human geography, my research is connected to humanistic geography, which contributed to my study primarily through the approach of placing human agency at the centre of the research and giving human awareness an important role in migration. In addition, the humanistic way of understanding space and place is also apparent in the Theory of Control Tuning. Humanistic geography focuses on human experience and meaning related to interpersonal relationships, places and geographical environments. This relationship is understood as complex and multidimensional. Place, mobility, space, home, landscape, nature and human-made environments are interpreted through human awareness, human agency, human consciousness and human creativity. The Theory of Control Tuning, and especially the sub-core category of *place coping* introduced in this dissertation, has points of contact with the space and place ideas of humanistic geography (this is explained in more detail in the next chapter). Within humanistic geography, there have been a range of philosophical traditions that have guided research, such as existentialism (e.g. Peet 1998: 34–35), phenomenology (e.g. Buttimer 1976) and idealism (e.g. Guelke 1982). However, contrary to Tuan's assertion in the quotation above, in grounded theory there is no need to provide an accurate picture of the human world; rather, the aim is to demonstrate one way of understanding it.

Geography is a branch of academia which takes account of both the physical environment and human activities; thus, interrelationships between nature and society are important. However, the emphasis placed on either one – the physical environment or human activities – has changed over time (see e.g. Peet 1998), and the different views and paradigms arising from such changes have provoked heated discussion not only within geography but also between geography and other disciplines, such as the social sciences.

The roots of humanistic geography can be found in the French school of human geography, in neo-Kantianism and in the pragmatism of Robert E. Park and the Chicago School of sociology (see e.g. Smith 1984; Gregory 2000). As David Ley (1996: 195–196) explains, by the 1930s, and culminating in Christaller's central place theory, "human geography was well on the way to becoming the geometry of space and form, an abstract science of spatial relations of objects". At that time, the importance of human agency in relation to the environment thus decreased in prevailing geographical thought. During the positivism of the 1960s, which according to Ley (ibid: 209) threatened to overwhelm geography, the attention given to human agency again fell dramatically. Moreover, in the era of spatial analysis, behavioural geography and radical and Marxist geography, human agency was further subverted (ibid: 192–210). As the Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates a behavioural pattern, it should be mentioned, however, that behavioural geography nevertheless later came to include non-quantitative research approaches (see e.g. Walmsley & Lewis 1993). For example, David Seamon (1979) developed a connection between phenomenology and behavioural geography in his ideas of movement, rest and encounter.

Before the inception of humanistic geography, the geographical understanding of the world suffered from a lack research on the experiences of individuals and groups. However, even though humanistic geography experienced its golden age in the 1970s, some geographers contributed to the spirit of humanistic geography before this period, including Alexander von Humboldt (see e.g. Bunkse 1981), Johannes Gabriel Granö (1930; 1997) and David Lowenthal (see e.g. Lowenthal 1961). However, the central figures in humanistic geography are Edward Relph (e.g. 1970, 1976a, 1976b, 1993, 2001, 2007), Yi-Fu Tuan (1974; 1976; 1977; 1985; 2001), Anne Buttimer (1976), David Ley (1989; 1996) and Marwyn Samuels (Peet 1998). In addition, David Seamon (1979; 2014) and J. Nicholas Entrikin (1976; 2001), among others,

have continued the development of the humanistic geography tradition. Furthermore, other disciplines outside geography have also contributed to humanistic research in topics related closely to geography, such as place, home and landscape. For example, in philosophy Jeffrey Malpas (1997, 1999, 2008b, 2012) and Edward S. Casey (1993, 1996, 1997, 2001) have conducted research on these topics. (On the history of humanistic geography, see, for instance, Seamon 2014; Seamon & Lundberg 2017).

Even though by the 1970s (according to some already by the late 1960s) humanistic geography was more than simply a response to positivism and quantification in science, this has been seen as an important impetus for the development of humanistic geography (for methodological developments and philosophical changes in geography see e.g. Gregory 1978). In addition, humanistic geography can be seen as a reaction to science treating people as passive respondents to universal spatial structures and abstract spatial logics.

Humanistic geography has relied especially on the humanities and social sciences. From the humanities, humanistic geography formed a particular connection with literature and history, using hermeneutics and historiography as methods of research. Places and landscapes were considered through various layers of meaning and through the actions related to them (see e.g. Meinig 1979). The link to historical geography was also strong. Moreover, humanistic geographers connecting with the social sciences in their research were often interested in empirical studies that derived their conceptual frameworks from ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism. Humanistic geographers conducting this type of research often used ethnography while investigating the "social construction of places and incursions of rationalized, even 'placeless' landscapes into the social topographies of the lifeworld and taken-for-granted world" (Gregory 2000: 362). This type of humanistic geography was closely associated with contemporary social geography. Furthermore, theoretical self-consciousness was more important in the connection between humanistic geography and the social sciences than between humanistic geography and the humanities, which in the beginning was more interested in particularity and specificity (ibid.).

As humanistic geography was a critical response to the quantitative and theoretical geography of the 1950s and 1960s, it is somewhat understandable that in the early years of humanistic geography humanistic geographers saw theory formation in a negative light, and indeed some very strong anti-theory

opinions arose among a number of humanistic geographers. Ley (1989: 241) criticises the fragmented human geography of the late 1980s (as he does social science, the arts and architecture) for forgetting history, culture, regional context and recognisable representation of everyday life in search of theoretical universals. Some humanistic geographers, however, came to realise that humanistic geography can also be theoretical. Thus, humanistic geographers relying on the humanities began to work especially with art theories and literary concepts. Furthermore, those humanistic geographers working with sources from the social sciences came to differentiate grand theories from more modest "grounded" theories (Gregory 2000: 362). Moreover, historical materialism had become one line of interest in the historical geographies of class struggle. Humanism and historical materialism thus became major paradigms in geography. However, both humanists and historical materialists criticised each other's perspectives. Historical materialists condemned humanism for its lack of structural rigour, and its asocial and transcendental response to the question, 'what is social whole?'; whereas early criticism of historical materialism by humanists focused on the apparent determinism of agency by structure, the mechanistic and reductionistic definition of the individual by external forces (Kobayashi & Mackenzie 1989). Later, Derek Gregory assisted in bringing to geography, also to humanistic geography, the school of thought associated with Giddens' structuration theory. Structuration theory is concerned with theorising human agency in the analysis of economic and social change (see e.g. Dyck 1990; Walmsley & Lewis 1993: 136–137).

In the 1990s, cultural geography took a new turn, and interest in interdisciplinary cultural studies gained ground. Humanistic geography became more difficult to interpret as a distinct field among other historical and cultural geography research and teaching. According to Gregory (2000), at this point it was more meaningful to talk about *post-humanistic geographies*, and many scholars who had previously been strongly linked to humanistic geography were now drawn to postmodernism and even post-structuralism (on the developments of modern and postmodern geographies see e.g. Soja 1989). In post-humanistic geography, there was an increased interest in psychoanalytical theory and feminist geographies. Along with the growth of anti-humanism, humanistic geography has been accused of being based on an ideology that suppressed the different ways in which human subjects are

constructed. According to this perspective, humanistic geography has failed to take sufficient account of the complexity and heterogeneity of subject-formation as well as the variety of human creativity and the diversity of human agency (Gregory 2000).

The role of humanistic geography and human geographers in geography has changed over time. In fairly recent years, as Entrikin (2001: 426–440) explains, humanistic geography has been presented as a subsystem of disciplinary practices among larger systems (in a similar way to human geography vis-à-vis physical geography and economic geography vis-à-vis cultural geography). This has led to humanistic geography being left out of geography's story altogether or to its redefinition as one competing method or approach within a particular group such as "cultural geography". Indeed, in the 1970s Yi-Fu Tuan already (1976: 275–276) concluded that:

> Despite these possible services [e.g. suggesting means by which a sense of place may be enhanced] the humanist's approach will never be really popular. The reason is not simply because it seems far less efficient than the direct manipulation of the physical environment. A more basic reason is that few people care to probe deeply into themselves. Self-knowledge, the prime reward of the humanistic enterprise, has always been suspect in Western culture.

However, when we think about the current world with its atmosphere of money, technology, climate change and hardening refugee policies, maybe it is just this – studying people's experiences, given meanings and agency – that is needed. Humanistic geography can gain importance in the management of practical changes in the current world, but it must also be prepared to keep pace with these changes. Academically, humanistic geography may need to connect more strongly with the building of theories connected to the "real world". Human experience is at the core of action and behaviour; thus, it should be better included in theory formation and connection of theory and practice in current topics such as migration and climate change. Even though humanistic geography has, to some extent, been side-lined by other interests in geography, such as geographic information systems (GIS), big data, remote sensing and the quantitative analysis of social media, it can also play an important role in connection to these ways of doing geography. Even though

some may consider humanistic geography outmoded, humanistic geography is still of great interest to many researchers and students of geography and other disciplines in different parts of the world. There have also been attempts at adopting a more humanistic approach to geospatial technologies (see e.g. Harvard University 2016). The Theory of Control Tuning contributes to strengthening ideas of humanistic geography within the discipline of geography at a time when a basic sense of humanity in migration often seems to be a fairly rare commodity.

7.1.3. Multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and the Theory of Control Tuning

Multidisciplinarity can be defined as the combination of knowledge from several fields and as an approach or method that includes several disciplines. Interdisciplinarity, on the other hand, can be understood as two or more disciplines contributing to one activity, such as a field of study or research project, and thinking across boundaries to create something new. Migration studies is itself an interdisciplinary field rooted in several disciplines, including geography, sociology, anthropology, development studies, economics and history. In migration studies, researchers and students study the social, cultural, economic, environmental and political dimensions of migration-related topics. My study and the Theory of Control Tuning contribute to migration studies by adding disciplinary and philosophical context of humanistic geography, phenomenology and hermeneutics – which have all been influenced by several disciplines in the humanities, social sciences, philosophy and other fields – to this framework. The Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates the way control occurs within various spheres of life in relation to such factors as livelihood, security, cultural traditions and policies and how control arises at different levels – local, regional, state and global – and in distinct environments. In the extant literature on migration, many of these issues have already been researched but separately, under different disciplines, without connecting them all together. The Theory of Control Tuning is able to connect these issues within one theory, and thus it can be considered a multi- and interdisciplinary theory. The Theory of Control Tuning is relevant to theories and conceptualisations from several academic disciplines, even though, as a geography dissertation, the context of *place*

coping is presented through a predominantly geographical lens when explaining space and place. I have introduced only the sub-core category of *place coping* in this dissertation. However, it is also possible to explain with similar detail the other sub-core categories of *link keeping*, *encountering authority* and *knowledge dealing*. These other three sub-core categories are closer to disciplines in the social sciences and other branches of academia than geography. In addition, the methodology of grounded theory, which is used in different disciplines in order to develop a theory, brings an important layer of multi- and interdisciplinarity to this research. Any classic grounded theorist, in spite of knowing nothing about migration or geography, can read and understand the Theory of Control Tuning. Indeed, it is common for those with a formal education in, for instance, medicine, nursing, business studies or any other field to comment on grounded theories from other and very distinct disciplines.

8. COMPARATIVE LITERATURE REVIEW: SYNTHESISING THE THEORY OF CONTROL TUNING AND EXTANT THEORIES AND STUDIES

In this chapter of comparative literature review, I demonstrate how the Theory of Control Tuning relates to extant theories, concepts and the research of others. In a grounded theory study, a comparative literature review is only possible once the new theory has emerged and the researcher knows what the theory concerns. The aim of the comparative literature review is not to verify the Theory of Control Tuning or to verify extant theories, concepts and research but rather to indicate similarities and differences and explain how the Theory of Control Tuning can contribute to the scientific debate. The idea of a comparative literature review is to explain those theories, concepts and research that have relevance to the new grounded theory. In the comparative literature review, I evaluate the Theory of Control Tuning to three relevant perspectives: control, space and place, and migration binaries.

8.1. Control

Control is a topic that has been researched in many disciplines from various standpoints. Control-related theories include social control theory in criminology and sociology (which explains self-control and criminal behaviour), control theory in engineering (which demonstrates dynamic systems in engineered processes and machines), the transdisciplinary study of cybernetics (which is a study of control in any system using technology), control in studies of linguistics (connected to, for example, verbs), and the illusion of control in psychology (which illustrates the tendency of people to overestimate their control of events). It is beyond the scope of this study to go into further detail about different research and theories in relation to control in all such disciplines. However, in this section I introduce how control is seen in psychology and social psychology and how control has been connected to research in relation to migration, space and place. First, I briefly explain the concept of control from the standpoint of psychology; however, it is important to mention that behavioural geography has also been important in the examination of migration-related human behaviour. Issues like decision-making and choice behaviour in migration are some of the topics that have been researched in behavioural geography (see e.g. Golledge & Stimson 1997; Walmsley & Lewis 1984) and which include the aspect of control. It should also be mentioned that from the 1960s to the 1980s so-called migration psychology, which connected population and environmental psychologists, was a perspective for researchers interested in migration and psychology (Fawcett 1986). Even today, decision-making in migration remains a rather popular topic in migration research.

'Control' is less researched in geography and the social sciences than 'power'. However, when control is linked to a practical behaviour, it provides an interesting perspective that adds to geographical and social knowledge, for instance in relation to matters of space and place. Control and power are often attributed the same or a similar meaning; thus, the concepts sometimes overlap or are closely related in various studies. As Ellen Langer (1983: 15) explains from a psychological perspective:

> Control is often equated with power. But in fact control is not equivalent to power. . . . Power is the ability to effect tangible outcomes

> whether that power is achieved through the accumulation of money, property, muscles, beauty, or knowledge, and whether the effect is for self or others. As those commodities increase, one's power proportionately increases. People vary in their desire and need for power and the need within these individuals varies across life span. Control on the other hand, is a more intrapsychic variable and is less concerned with the current state of the external world. The need for control remains stable although aspects of the environment that threaten that perception of control are likely to change with experience.

Commenting on the work of Averill, which led to the distinguishing of behavioural, cognitive and decisional control, Langer states that "behavioural control is direct action taken on the environment to influence a threatening event; cognitive control relates to the interpretation of threatening events; and finally, decisional control is the opportunity to choose among various possible actions" (ibid: 16). Langer argues that it is, however, important to differentiate the perspective of an outer observer from that of the actor, as the perspective impacts the phenomenon of control. From the observer's perspective, it is meaningful to speak of an actor exhibiting behavioural or decisional control, independent of regarding the actor's awareness of this process. However, for the actor, such types of control are not experienced unless that actor is aware of them. Thus, Langer accepts that from an external frame of reference there may be three forms of control (behavioural, decisional and cognitive), while from an internal frame of reference there is primarily only one form (awareness of control). Langer develops her idea of control as an ongoing process, stating that:

> People experience control as they master their internal (mental) or external environments – as they make unfamiliar familiar. This view suggests that one does not experience much control by looking back at past successes. That stance is successful only to the extent that it encourages the individual to involve him- or herself directly with the environment in the present. (ibid: 19)

Langer suggests that when control is seen as a process, there is no situation in which absolutely no control is available to a person. She considers that response choices vary in their ability to achieve the desired outcome. However,

there is no certainty that any one response will produce the desired outcome. To experience control, according to Langer, the environment or task cannot be perceived as something that has already been completely mastered. An environment that promotes control also promotes mastering. Thus, Langer refers to perceived control as the mindful process of mastering (ibid.).

In this study, control is seen as including tactics and strategies implemented by migration actors in order to manage and be in charge of feelings, actions, information and people, as well as the ownership of situations and objects. Migration actors use *control tuning* for this purpose. *Control tuning* is evident when a migration actor adopts various control-tuning paths for coping in the behavioural arena of migration. *Control tuning* occurs *in*, *due to* and *for* space and place. This is especially evident in *place coping*. The concept of power is not used in the Theory of Control Tuning (with the exception of the property of *convincing power* within the sub-core category of *encountering authority*, which is explained in detail in another study), as, in contrast to control, it lacks the connotations and actions of strategy and the implementation of tactics. Based on the empirical data which I analysed with grounded theory methodology, I view power as a higher level concept rather than a general concept. Control can lead to power, but, in the Theory of Control Tuning, it is control that migration actors deal with on a continuous basis in their daily lives. In the Theory of Control Tuning, control related to an individual or group is very much impacted by social relations and interaction with the external environment, even though the need for control can be seen as a personal need and desire with particular expected control-tuning outcomes. Thus, the Theory of Control Tuning represents the view that the control-tuning paths of an individual exist in relation both to his/her inner needs and desires of control and to the external environment, events, objects and other human beings. In the Theory of Control Tuning, control-tuning outcomes may or may not be the migration outcomes expected by the migration actors who implement strategies for control. Thus, in the Theory of Control Tuning, as in Langer's work, there is no guarantee that the choice of control-tuning strategy leads to the desired outcome. Instead, there may be a need for additional responses and control-tuning strategies to react to the control-tuning outcome.

Fred Rothbaum, John Weisz and Samuel Snyder (Rothbaum et al. 1982) explain that people aim to gain control by bringing the environment into line

with their wishes. This can be seen as primary control. In addition, people attempt to gain control by bringing themselves into line with environmental forces. This is called secondary control. Secondary control can be considered to have four manifestations. First, attributing one's life circumstances to severely limited ability can serve to enhance so-called predictive control and protect against disappointment. Passive and withdrawn behaviours represent an attempt to inhibit the occurrence/arising of unfulfillable expectations. Secondly, the experience of illusory control can occur through attributions to chance, as people often construe chance as a personal characteristic similar to ability (like 'luck'). Individuals who attribute their life circumstances to chance may show passivity and withdrawal in skill situations, reserving energy and emotional investment for situations that allow them to capitalise on their perceived strength – being lucky. Thirdly, attributions of one's circumstances to powerful others allow vicarious control when the individual identifies with these others. Submission to a powerful leader, a group, or a deity sometimes enables the individual to participate in their power. Fourthly, all of the previously mentioned attributions may foster interpretative control, in which the individual seeks to understand and derive meaning from otherwise uncontrollable events in order to accept them. According to Rothbaum et al. (ibid.), when perceived control can be recognised in the forms of both primary and secondary control, an extensive range of inner behaviours can be considered as efforts to sustain rather than relinquish the perception of control. To summarise, primary control includes attempts to change the world so that it fits the desires and needs of the individual, whereas secondary control refers to attempts to adapt to the world.

In their life-span theory of control, Jutta Heckhausen and Richard Schultz (1995) study control-related transitions that increase, decrease or threaten existing levels of control through a life-span development perspective, from infancy to old-age. Similar to Rothbaum et al., Heckhausen and Schultz explain control through the concepts of primary and secondary control. In their view, however, these forms of control concern not so much a process as their targets. In their opinion:

> [P]rimary control targets the external world and attempts to achieve effects in the immediate environment external to the individual, whereas secondary control targets the self and attempts to achieve

> changes directly within the individual. Both primary and secondary control may involve cognition and action, although primary control is almost always characterized in terms of active behaviour engaging the external world, whereas secondary control is predominantly characterized in terms of cognitive processes localized within the individual. (ibid: 285)

Heckhausen and Schultz argue that the main function of secondary control is to minimise losses in and maintain and expand existing levels of primary control. Thus, they give precedence to primary control, stating that the pre-eminence of primary control is invariant across cultures and historical times, though they recognise differences in the extent to which cultures promote or reinforce aspirations of primary control. The loss of primary control can lead not only to frustration over one's failure to achieve the desired outcome but also to loss of self-esteem and a change in one's expectations and ideas regarding the manageability and general controllability of external events and environments. These negative impacts to primary control can, according to Heckhausen and Schultz, be buffered by secondary control. In other words, secondary control protects emotional wellbeing and self-esteem. In addition, it preserves and revives the individual's motivational resources for maintaining and enhancing primary control in the future (ibid: 286).

In his Rubicon model, Heinz Heckhausen identifies four action phases (ibid: 287). The first is predecisional motivation, where the individual considers the advantages and disadvantages of different action choices before making a decision on what to do. Preactional volition forms the second phase, which means that the individual waits for a suitable moment to act. The third phase is actional volition, where the individual executes the action plan. In turn, postactional motivation represents the fourth phase, when the individual evaluates the action outcome, considers causal attributions for it and draws inferences for future actions. In the Theory of Control Tuning all these action phases are present. Control-tuning paths are adopted when control-tuning causes appear and the conditions are negative. Here, a migration actor considers the reasons for attempting to change existing control. This can be seen as Heckhausen's phase of predecisional motivation. The migration actor then takes action by adopting a particular control-tuning strategy, which can be considered to cover Heckhause's phases two and three. Finally, when the

migration actor's strategy results in a control-tuning outcome or outcomes, Heckhausen's fourth phase occurs. Here, the migration actor analyses the action and considers if s/he needs to adopt a different or similar strategy again, or if s/he is satisfied with the resulting control as a control-tuning outcome.

As control and power are often considered similar or the same in migration and space/place-related research, in this comparative literature review it is necessary to explain these two terms, even though the main concern of the chapter is naturally control. Power has been theorised by many 'great men', such as Michel Foucault, Max Weber, Karl Marx and Émile Durkheim (for social theory see e.g. Bailey & Gayle 2003; Giddens & Turner 1987). Many studies have examined their work on power, and these are easy for the reader to find. As such, they are insufficiently relevant to the Theory of Control Tuning for presentation here. However, there are two exceptions. First, the Foucault-inspired securitisation approach is mentioned in the next section on control in migration, space and place; second, Giddens' theory of structuration is raised when discussing migration binaries. Nevertheless, for the Theory of Control Tuning, there are many more interesting and relevant ideas from other researchers who have studied and theorised control and power in relation to migration, space and place. Thus, this study avoids what Sayer (2010: 6) terms "sociological imperialism", that is, the idea of the social sciences being reduced to sociology and sociology to the work of Durkheim, Weber and Marx. In the next section, I examine control through the lens of geographical thought and through other disciplines that study control and relate to the Theory of Control Tuning in one way or another.

8.2. Control in relation to migration, space and place

Control in relation to migration, space and place, and especially to territory, is often studied from the perspective of states and international alliances (e.g. Hollifield 2008). There are several reasons why migration is controlled (see e.g. Castles & Miller 1993; Samers 2010). From the standpoint of states and international alliances, one of the primary reasons for practising control is to secure the borders of nation-states from unwanted 'flows' or 'waves' of external migration. Nevertheless, migration can also concern the internal control of borders from within territories (Leerkes et al. 2012). Control is

connected to security issues and normally presented in migration management as an issue that can create threats and problems if it is lost. Governments and international alliances control migration and access to their areas through policies and legal requirements, such as those attached to citizenship and visa requirements, presenting lists of 'safe' countries, the fortification of borders, and detention and deportations. Asylum and undocumented migration are often 'criminalised', 'securitised' and 'militarised' by states. Moreover, the off-shore processing of asylum applications is one way of controlling migration and keeping migration outside the borders of a state (Hansen 2014). Refugees and asylum seekers have been considered potential threats to the economy, the environment and identity, especially during the post-Cold War era. The securitisation approach developed by the Copenhagen School in the 1990s has particularly contributed to the construction of refugees and asylum seekers as security threats. Foucault's concept of biopolitics has created a sociological understanding of securitisation, where securitisation processes primarily concern controlling populations through bureaucratic procedures, surveillance and the risk management techniques of governments. Migration is thus considered to be linked to a risk population that requires securitising and over which a state is permitted to exercise control (Hammerstad 2014). There are different views on the ability of states and international alliances to control migration and the role of migration as a transnational force (see e.g. Sassen 1996; Hollifield 2008). Much of the research connected to migration control by nation-states and international alliances relates to immigration from the viewpoint of receiving states, and there is a clear lack of research on the control of sending states, that is, from where migration often begins (Hollifield 2008: 221). According to Hein de Haas (2011: 13), this also increases the need to advance our theoretical understanding of the origin-country determinants of migration processes at different levels of aggregation. The fact that more research is concentrating on receiving countries than on countries of origin is interesting, as in the Theory of Control Tuning controlling *exiting* from places receives more attention than entering places. Thus, it is erroneous to assume that migration actors can simply leave a certain place without control challenges from states and other administration in their places of origin and transit. On the contrary, *exiting* is a greater challenge for many migration actors than entering a space or a place, such as a nation-state or a territory controlled by

an international alliance. Nevertheless, this is not to argue that entering a nation-state or a territory controlled by an international alliance is easy for migrants, as can be regularly seen by their difficulties in entering Australia, the United States or the European Union.

Some claim that the importance of the borders of nation-states (and in fact also the importance of nation-states) is diminishing and that we are moving towards a so-called borderless world. However, in his border studies, Anssi Paasi (2009: 213) demonstrates that this is not the case. According to Paasi, "borders are important institutions and ideological symbols that are used by various bodies and institutions in the perpetual process of reproducing territorial power". Paasi continues by stating that even though control over access to areas and the things within them is not fixed, borders have long been considered an almost self-evident component of the sovereignty and power associated with state territoriality (ibid: 216). Mobility, which is a crucial constitutive dimension of territory-making, is closely connected to borders. Borders not only separate; they also mediate contacts and both constitute and symbolise institutional practices. According to Paasi, these practices are also based on societal power relations, as they contribute to rules for crossing and not crossing borders and for the exchange of goods, people or symbolic messages. In addition, these practices provide the grounds for the regional transformation and re-scaling of spatial and social relations (ibid: 217). The Theory of Control Tuning covers physical borders that can be found within national and transnational contexts. Borders are closely connected to policies, politics and practices of control over who can exit and who can enter a physical space. Borders are part of what Paasi terms the "technical landscapes of control" – control through the technologies of surveillance and infrastructure that can prevent or promote mobility (Paasi & Prokkola 2008: 17). In the Theory of Control Tuning, *multi routing*, in particular, explains how such borders are dealt with through *exiting* (and entering) and through *document solutioning*. However, in the Theory of Control Tuning, borders and boundaries are also seen as mental phenomena. They appear through migration actors' images and everyday experiences of spaces and places, visibility, protection, significance, interaction, feelings, abilities and attitudes. They are also cultural and symbolic borders that affect migration actors in different types of spaces and places during different stages of migration and *control tuning*. Borders and boundaries are socially produced and

continuously (re)defined, invented, maintained and defended through *control tuning*. Moreover, in border studies, both in geography and the social sciences, there has been a shift from considering borders as pure lines between political and legal entities, such as the visible borders of a state, to comprehending them in a larger context as, for example, social and cultural practices.

Even though migration management is often researched through the lens of nation-states and international alliances at the macro level, some studies also incorporate migration through another scale, like that of the body. For instance, Jennifer Hyndman (2001, 2011) promotes feminist geopolitics, an approach in international relations and geopolitics that presents a more embodied way of seeing and understanding the intersection of power and space. It questions the centrality of the state as the main site at which power appears and is negotiated. In turn, Alison Mounz and Jenna M. Loyd (2014) demonstrate the role of feminist political geography in understanding politics and power relations that counter dominant narratives. The scale of the body adds to the understanding of borders, regions and the geopolitics of migration from a less traditional perspective, which shows, for instance from the perspective of human rights, the complicated, intertwined control of states, international alliances and migrants. The Theory of Control Tuning covers the same types of challenges, especially through its categories of *spatial manoeuvring* and *problem confronting*, where issues such as the safety of migration actors, the availability of funds and health issues form part of *control tuning*. Hyndman has also connected power and space with mobility and the economics of humanitarian organisations. Through her concept of the 'geopolitics of mobility', she demonstrates that both economic and corporeal power are invested in migration management. Through its finances, the so-called refugee industry and humanitarian aid strongly contribute to mobility and immobility as well as to unequal power relations within, beyond and in spite of nation-states. The differing abilities of social groups to choose mobility, direct flows of capital or control space are strengthened through the boundaries and political hierarchies that divide those who provide aid from those who use it. (Hyndman 1997).

Migration actors practise *control tuning* in the context of *place coping* while on the move and when staying put also in relation to financial means and economic activities, of which humanitarian assistance can be one part. *Control tuning* is carried out in relation to humanitarian aid as, for example, in refugee

and IDP camps it promotes movement, staying put and *place picking*. Migrants shuttle between places in order to obtain humanitarian aid and to cope with other aspects of their livelihood. *Control tuning* in relation to *exiting* due to reduced opportunities for employment and well-being in everyday life, operating funds to pay for housing and to owning property, and dealing with employment policies and challenging employers in order to self-sustain are some examples of controlling livelihood possibilities. Thus, the Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates the importance of controlling economic possibilities, assets and remittances, as well as the need to be able to access them. The issue of livelihood in migration is significant, and a growing number of studies concentrate on this topic (see e.g. Ashraf et al. 2011; Jacobsen 2014).

Doreen Massey, in turn, explores control in relation to time-space compression, which in her work often refers to the role of globalisation in altering the relationship between time and space. She highlights, for example, the contradiction between free trade and restrictions on migration as well as how space should be seen through social construction and its power-filled nature (Massey 1999). Massey (1994: 149) differentiates between individuals and groups that understand and experience time-space compression in distinct ways, also in relation to control:

> Now I want to make one simple point here, and that is about what one might call the *power-geometry* of it all; the power-geometry of time-space compression. For different social groups, and different individuals, are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections. This point concerns not merely the issues of who moves and who doesn't, although that is an important element of it; it is also about power in relation *to* the flows and the movement. Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway differentiated mobility: some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it.

Massey claims, for example, that academics are a group that can turn time-space compression to their advantage and whose power is increased by it. On the other hand, according to Massey, groups like refugees and undocumented

migrant workers are unable to control the process in the same way as academics, even though they also travel a great deal:

> This is, in other words, a highly complex social differentiation. There are differences in the degree of movement and communication, but also in the degree of control and of initiation. The ways in which people are placed within 'time-space compression' are highly complicated and extremely varied. But this in turn immediately raises questions of politics. If time-space compression can be imagined in that more socially formed, socially evaluative and differentiated way, then there may be here the possibility of developing a politics of mobility and access. For it does seem that mobility, and control over mobility, both reflects and reinforces power. It is not simply a question of unequal distribution, that some people move more than others, and that some have more control than others. It is that the mobility and control of some groups can actively weaken other people. Differential mobility can weaken the leverage of the already weak. The time-space compression of some groups can undermine the power of others. (ibid: 150)

Places have power and significance. The Theory of Control Tuning reveals the importance of place and coping in various places through its various categories and properties. Relph (2017a, 2017b) explains the power of place from two perspectives: intrinsic power and ascribed political and economic power:

> The main conclusion I have been able to draw is that the power of place is a versatile and adaptable idea with many different uses, few of which acknowledge any of the others. A second conclusion. . . .is that there are two distinctively different assumptions about how power operates through place. One regards power as an intrinsic quality of place: for instance in sacred sites power is seen a property of the place itself and is independent of human interventions. The other assumption treats places as conduits for expressing political and economic power, in other words, power is regarded as something that is given or ascribed to places in order to support and demonstrate the authority of individuals, institutions or communities.

In the Theory of Control Tuning, power of place becomes central and is emphasised through behaviour like *control tuning*. Both intrinsic power and ascribed power can be seen to influence perceptions of control and the need to react to it. Migration actors implement control-tuning strategies in order to cope in a place which may be hostile through its physical or mental environment. Migration actors consider places to be in control and consequently feel motivated to react to that control by *control tuning*. For example, *being surrounded by the unfamiliar* leads to the need to respond, for instance, to the physical characteristics of a place, like the weather, in order to *claim control* and thereby successfully *establish a new normal*, which leads to the control-tuning outcome of *gained control*. Richard White and John M. Findlay (1999: x) describe place as a spatial reality constructed by human beings. They claim that "constructing place through an 'imposition' of order entails asserting some sort of control over the environment as well as over other peoples with different ideas of the same physical space; in other words, it represents the exercise of power" (ibid.). White and Findlay define power as the following:

> [P]ower is the ability of an agent – be it a person, corporation, the state, or some other entity – to influence either people or natural forces to act according to that agent's desire or will. Power can be exercised through force, persuasion, manipulation, and other ways. It is never evenly distributed, but it is probably never monopolized. Among people, power implies a relationship between persons. In other words, to speak of power among people is to speak of relations of power. (ibid.)

To some extent, this definition of power coincides with that of control and thus contributes to defining *control tuning* in the Theory of Control Tuning. *Control tuning* is also the ability of a migration actor to impact people according to that actor's desire or will. *Control tuning* occurs not only through acts of force, persuasion, and manipulation but also through, for example, negotiation and acceptance. Moreover, control is not evenly distributed or monopolised. In the Theory of Control Tuning, control is seen through *control tuning* behaviour, but it can also be considered to be the behavioural relationships between individuals. However, in addition to using *control*

tuning to influence human beings, migration actors also use it to respond to various situations, spaces and places, events, objects and feelings.

At an individual level, the importance of control in connection to place is found, for instance, in the postnatal-care experiences of women. Control arises differently in places such as hospitals and the home (Lock & Gibb 2003). In turn, Shampa Mazumdar and Sanjoy Mazumdar (2001) present a study that questions traditional thinking on the control of spaces as public and private spaces. They reject the common western view of Muslim society as a culture where men rule public spaces with control, power and status related to information and decision-making, whereas women are powerless, associated with domestic life and consigned to the private world. They question the view that women are passive spatial decision-makers, i.e., that spaces are controlled, used and experienced by women mainly through the assistance of male chaperones. Instead, Mazumdar and Mazumdar observe that in practical life cultural relativity exists in the notions of public and private spaces.

Even though the Theory of Control Tuning is not tied to any particular practical cultural environment and works at a conceptual level, this notion of cultural relativity is important, as migration actors move and stay put in various environments, which are influenced by cultural and social factors. In *spatial manoeuvring* in order to keep safe, migration actors, especially migrants but also local residents and authorities, are required to limit their movement in spaces, either public or private. In *establishing a new normal*, migration actors face limitations and experience freedoms in relation to moving in spaces. Freedom of movement is often apparent when moving from a more restricted area to an environment which offers greater latitude to make one's own decisions or where places are considered safe or safer. Limitations, on the other hand, are promoted not only by authorities, family members and the migration actor him/herself but also by curfews and other policies. Control-tuning paths related to movement and sojourning in a space or place are a significant part of *place picking*, as they explain how migration actors wish to live in, actually live in or want to visit, spend time in and transit through particular places. The Theory of Control Tuning encompasses restricted and accessible spaces and places. Spaces and places are either accessible or inaccessible due to, for example, the presence or lack of protection, interaction and visibility. These spaces and places are experienced through movement and staying put, and they promote distinct feelings. Where

restricted spaces and places are concerned, it is particularly common for some to enjoy extensive control while others possess less control.

There is certainly room for more research on control and migration, space and place. For instance, far less research exists on control from the perspective of migration actors, including the way they control their own migration experiences and movements, than on migration management and the control of nation-states and international alliances. Moreover, there seems to be a complete absence of migration theories that unite various migration actors and concentrate on the level of control from the perspective of individuals and groups. Even though studies exist on the decision-making and choice behaviour of individuals and small groups, which contribute to our understanding of how to control migration at the micro level, these studies neither concentrate on the concept of control as such, nor produce control-related theories on migration.

8.3. Conceptualisation of space and place

In this section I explain how the Theory of Control Tuning relates to the extant research and literature on space and place. Because this dissertation focuses on *place coping* as one of the central concepts of the Theory of Control Tuning, it is necessary to understand how both space and place are understood and how they relate to migration in the Theory and in the literature.

The importance of place in the discipline of geography has always been recognised, but geographers began to attribute more significance to place-related ideas and the differences between space and place during the 1970s, through the emergence of humanistic geography. Regional geographers have discussed place as separate areas of land with their own characteristics and functions. Humanistic geographers, on the other hand, see place as a fundamental component of being in the world. While space and place, as well as their difference, have been conceptualised by geographers in particular, others, such as anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers and architects, have also explored the issue. Several perspectives exist on the classification of space and place, and they are often expressed as concepts describing spatiality, such as a space of risk, a space of protection or being out of place. Space and place are often linked with issues like time, memories, movement and identity. As

Merriman et al. (2012: 4) state, many geographers prefer to operate with concepts such as place, landscape and region, which are encultured and embodied concepts, than with the seemingly more abstract concept of space. Nevertheless, they continue by observing that:

> [I]t is precisely the multiplicitous and heterogeneous nature of space and spatiality – as abstract and concrete, produced and producing, imagined and materialized, structured and lived, relational, relative and absolute – which lends the concept a powerful functionality that appeals to many geographers and thinkers in the social sciences and humanities. (ibid.)

In geography space has come to be generally accepted as something abstract. In contrast, place is considered space with given meaning, interpretation and experience. In addition to this binary thinking of space as abstract and place as possessing meaning, there is, however, an approach that views space and place as active and processed. Harvey (2006: 270) states that with so many different terms, such as spaces of fear, of dreams, of anger and of hope, to mention but a few of his examples, "the terrain of application defines something so special as to render any generic definition of space a hopeless task". Tuan and Relph, and later Sack and Malpas, developed the idea of place as a meaningful part of life and the basis for human interaction. By contrast, as Tim Cresswell (2004: 49–50) explains, critical human geographers, informed by Marxism, feminism and cultural studies, have been interested in showing how places are socially constructed in relation to unequal power relations and how they represent relations of domination and exploitation. Geographers such as Seamon, Pred, Massey and Thrift have stated that, rather than being static and bounded, places are products of processes that go beyond the limits of a particular place. Moreover, according to Edward Soja (e.g. Soja 1989), space is lived and practiced. Influential non-geographical thinkers affecting Soja's thinking in relation to space include Henri Lefebvre (e.g. Lefebvre 1991), Michel Foucault (e.g. Foucault & Miskowiec 1986) and bell hooks (e.g. hooks 1990). Cresswell (ibid.) writes that sometimes these processes – especially when linked with the mobility of people, objects and ideas – undermine place, and produce placelessness and non-place. However, the Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates that space

and place are in fact central to mobility and immobility; thus their importance should not be diminished but rather considered through new conceptualisations and through the behaviour of *control tuning* in migration.

I deliberately use space and place as a pair throughout the Theory and this study. In the Theory, they have a different significance and different definitions, but they are nonetheless closely intertwined. In migration, place appears to have both its own characteristics and the meanings attributed to it by migration actors based on their personal experiences and imagination and the experiences of others. Place is present in the everyday life of migration actors, and thus there is a need to cope in place. At all stages of migration, spaces are turned into places through the meaning and interpretation attributed to them by migration actors through their experiences, behaviour and imagination. Moreover, places have their own characteristics that affect the behaviour of migration actors. As shown in figure 2, space and place occur in the Theory of Control Tuning through various actions and characteristics. Thus, space and place can be physical, experienced, imagined and meaningful, and they can contain action, interaction and behaviour which influence social relations, social and psychological processes as well as structures, and vice versa. Space and place provide the backdrop for migration and the *control tuning* of migration actors. Space and place are also causes for migration and *control tuning*. In addition, they not only promote and prevent migration and *control tuning* but they are also modified and produced through migration and *control tuning*.

Next, I provide some examples of how space and place occur in the Theory of Control Tuning in order to later demonstrate their connection to the literature. Space appears either as a measurable length (that is distance without a meaning) or as land that can be divided in order to distribute it to different migration actors for their use. In the Theory of Control Tuning, space and place affect control-tuning paths as intervening factors in the form of borders or difficult terrain, such as barren soil, and as distances. Moreover, they appear as planned spaces that demand *control tuning*, such as when authorities relocate local residents and migrants in order to use a place for another purpose, for instance for building or "development" projects. Migration actors perform *control tuning* in response to space and place, such as when they own property in a particular place or dislike their current area of residence. Space and place are seen and given meaning as things worth

retaining to or pursuing. This can occur both when migration actors want to migrate to a particular place and when they reject forced relocation and wish to stay put. In addition, the *control tuning* that occurs between migration actors modifies space and place through social relations. For instance, migrants protesting against their placement or demanding a change in their situation by taking over land for a group demonstration often alters not only social relations in connection to space and place but also policies related to space and place, such as those connected with resettling people elsewhere. Thus, migration actors dealing with space and place at the micro level of individuals and small groups and at the meso level through networks and communities can impact the macro level and its different structures. The influence of *control tuning* in relation to space and place can occur irrespective of the migration type (e.g. conflict or education-induced) or directions of flow (from rural to rural or from internal to international). *Control tuning* in migration can connect different levels (micro, meso and macro) through actions, social relations, and social and psychological processes. Consequently, the Theory of Control Tuning supports the three-fold idea of an abstract space, a meaningful place and a practised space and place. I argue that it is possible to discuss a particular *space of control tuning* when explaining the complex relationship between control and spatiality in migration. Here, space and place are not only seen as abstract or experienced but also as including social relations, social and psychological processes and behaviour related to control. As there are some points of contact between the Theory of Control Tuning and the space- and place-related ideas of Relph, Soja, Harvey and Tuan, I will next describe the way they conceptualise space and place.

Relph (1976a: 2–28) explains space through various categories. First, he considers space to be pragmatic or primitive. It is the space of instinctive behaviour and unselfconscious action in which we always act and move without reflection. This space involves no images or concepts of space and spatial relations. According to Relph, Tuan (1974: 21) describes this type of space as containing dimensions such as left and right, above and below and in front of and behind. Second, Relph discusses perceptual space, which has a meaning and content and which cannot be separated from experiences and intentions. For example, one can experience distances and directions as qualities of near and far rather than as something measurable. Perceptual space can be seen through direct emotional encounters with the spaces of

earth, sea, and sky (like for instance blue sky or thick fog) or with built and created space. People understand perceptual space as their own place, but at the same time they recognise that others also have their own perceptual space. These spaces can combine to form the lived-space of the entire social or cultural group of which they are members. Existential space, as Relph terms it, is the third type of space:

> The meanings of existential space are therefore those of a culture as experienced by an individual, rather than a summation of the meanings of individual perceptual spaces, though in many cases the two probably coincide. Furthermore existential space is not merely a passive space waiting to be experienced, but is constantly being created and remade by human activities. (1976a: 12)

Existential space can be both experienced in a highly selfconscious way with detail on one's surroundings and unselfconsciously without paying much attention to one's surroundings. Relph categorises the spaces of existential space as sacred space (space connected with archaic religious experience that is continuously differentiated and replete with symbols, sacred centres and meaningful objects), geographical space (a reflection of man's basic awareness of the world, his experiences and intentional links with his environment, space that is full of significance for people), and the structure of geographical space (where different levels of space, from the largest spaces, such as nations and continents, to the smallest spaces, such as individual objects) (ibid: 2-28). In existential space, places can be understood as centres of meaning or focuses of intention and purpose. As Relph puts it, "places constitute significant centres of experience within the context of the lived-space of the everyday social world" (ibid: 22). In addition, Relph identifies architectural space and planning space, which involve a deliberate attempt to create spaces. As Relph remarks (ibid: 23), "planning space does not involve direct or imaginative experience but order on maps and land-use efficiency". Relph also describes cognitive space, which is "a homogenous space, with equal value everywhere and in all directions. It is uniform and it is neutral, a dimension, the space of geometry and maps and theories of spatial organization" (ibid: 24–25). The last type of space Relph defines is abstract space, which is not necessarily based on empirical observations but rather on the logical relations that allow

space to be described. Thus, abstract space is a free creation of the human imagination. Moreover, Relph explains that these different forms of spaces are closely linked in both our thoughts and experience. When the understanding and meaning we attribute to space changes, place thus also changes. In Relph's categorisation, the concept of space is used in terms of how people use space and how they react or fail to react to it. On the other hand, Relph explains place as:

> Those aspects of space that we distinguish as places are differentiated because they have attracted and concentrated our intentions, and because of this focusing they are set apart from the surrounding space while remaining a part of it. But the meaning of space, and particularly lived-space, comes from the existential and perceptual places of immediate experience. (ibid: 28)

Soja (1989, 1996) considers space an overarching concept that contains related notions pertaining to the spatiality of human life, such as place, location, locality, landscape and environment. Moreover, he responds to binary thinking on spatiality, such as the dichotomies between real/imagined and material/mental, with his concept of thirdspace. He recalls the need to find new alternatives not by dismissing binaries entirely but rather through restructuring. As Soja (1996: 6) explains "*Thirdspace* too can be described as a creative recombination and extension, one that builds on a *Firstspace* perspective that is focused on the "real" material world and a *Secondspace* perspective that interprets this reality through "imagined" representations of spatiality."

Whereas firstspace is empirically measurable and mappable and secondplace is conceived space, the domain of representation and image, thirdspace, draws everything together:

> Everything comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history. (Soja 1996: 56)

Thirdspace is practised and lived rather than simply being material or mental. Places are not established; rather, they only operate through constant and reiterative practice. According to Soja, thirdspace should be understood as a limitless composition of lifeworlds. He considers trialectical thinking to be important, and thus explains thirdspace through the trialectics of being and the trialectics of spatiality. In the trialectics of being, Soja emphasises the importance of historicality, sociality and spatiality at all levels of knowledge formation, from ontology to epistemology, theory building, empirical analysis, and social practices (Soja 1996: 71). Soja demonstrates how moving from more ontological statements of what the world must be like in order for us to have knowledge of it (as in the trialectics of being) to the epistemology of space that allows us to obtain accurate and practicable knowledge of the way our existential spatiality is formed (trialectics of spatiality). In the trialectics of spatiality, according to its firstspace, secondspace and thirdspace, spatiality can be perceived, conceived and lived.

While, unlike Harvey's (2006) contribution to Marxist theory, the Theory of Control Tuning does not strongly connect the concepts of space and place to capitalism and economics, Harvey's work on the threefold division of space-time can be considered in relation to the Theory of Control Tuning. Harvey presents a tripartite division of space, and he proposes this in relation to Lefebvre´s division of spatial practice, conceptualised and lived space (Lefebvre 1991) (for Harvey's discussion on this issue see 2006). Harvey's tripartite division of space includes absolute space, relative space and relational space. First, he describes absolute space – fixed space within which we can record or plan events. According to Harvey, it is "usually represented as a pre-existing and immovable grid amenable to standardized measurement and open to calculation" (ibid: 272). This space concerns the individuation and uniqueness of location defined by bounded territories. Second, Harvey presents the relative notion of space. Space can be relative in two ways: that there are multiple geometries from which to choose and the spatial frame depends on upon what it is that is being relativised and by whom. In this definition of space, space and time are intertwined because, according to Harvey, it is impossible to understand space independent from time (ibid: 272). Tuan also considers time important when, for example, discussing distance, which is not a purely spatial concept, as it often implies time (Tuan 1977: 119). Harvey's relative space involves a multiplicity of locations which

are all equidistant from somewhere. This is a space that appears through relative locations by differentiating between distances calculated in respect to, for example, time, cost and transportation type. The third space Harvey defines is relational space. Here, processes define their own spatial frame. Here too, Harvey emphasises the importance of space-time. Space does not exist in isolation; rather, space-time is seen through internal relations, where external influences become internalised in specific processes or things through time. An event or a thing, as Harvey states, at a point of space depends not just on what exists at that point but on everything that occurs around it. According to Harvey, the key question does not concern the fundamental nature of space but rather how various human practices create and make use of different conceptualisations of space. Harvey considers all these three concepts, absolute, relative and relational space, important when thinking about space (2006: 272–278).

Even if the Theory of Control Tuning differs somewhat from the ideas of Relph, Soja and Harvey in its conceptualisation of space and place, the common denominator is the way spatiality is explained as, first, something abstract or material, second, as something with experience and meaning and, third, as something attached to processes and relations. Relph's categories of space cover many aspects of the way space and place are used in the Theory of Control Tuning: pragmatic, perceptual, existential, planned and abstract spaces are all part of migration. Moreover, Soja's firstspace, secondspace and thirdspace are also in line with the way space and place are viewed in the Theory of Control Tuning. Firstpace is what the Theory explains as space, secondspace is understood as place, and thirdspace overlaps with what can be called *space of control tuning*. Harvey's ideas on space and time are also important, as I will explain in more detail in the next section, where I relate migration to space and place.

Yi-Fu Tuan, in turn, considers place through its experiential nature (Tuan 1975, 1977). According to Tuan, while space is abstract, lacks content and is broad, open and empty, place represents the past and present, stability and achievement. Place is thus a construct of experience:

> Place is a center of meaning constructed by experience. Place is known not only through the eyes and mind but also through the more passive and direct modes of experience, which resist objectification. To know a

> place fully means both to understand it in an abstract way and to know it as one person knows another. At a high theoretical level, places are points in a spatial system. At the opposite extreme, they are strong visceral feelings. . . . To most people in the modern world, places lie somewhere in the middle range of experience. . . . Within the middle range places are thus known both directly through the senses and indirectly through the mind. A small place can be known through all the modes of experience; a large place, such as a city or nation, depends far more on indirect and abstract knowledge for its experiential construction. (Tuan 1975: 152–153)

According to Tuan, experience constructs places on different scales. Thus, places can be, for instance, a nation-state, a region, a neighbourhood or a home. Moreover, places can be private or public. Tuan argues that knowing a place in the fullest sense requires participation by the "discerning eye and mind" (ibid: 161), something to which art, education and politics can also contribute. In the Theory of Control Tuning, even a short time spent in a space transforms it into a place, such as, for instance, when migration actors are refused access to some areas and must find alternative routes and spaces. Through the experience of denied access, space becomes place, and even if the time spent in that place is short, it can become a long remembered and important migration experience for an individual or group. Such an occurrence also requires control-tuning strategies for coping in place, thus emphasising the significance of experience in place. Nevertheless, while a place can have great significance for an actor even if it the time spent there is short, knowledge of that place may not be of any great depth. Tuan states that experience takes time, and sense of place is not commonly obtained when simply passing through. He writes that to know a place well requires a long period of residence and deep involvement in that place. Nonetheless, Tuan adds that the passage of time is not, in itself, sufficient to create a sense of place: even if experience takes time, the passage of time itself does not ensure experience (Tuan 1975). Therefore, in migration, individual migration actors know a given place differently, even if they have spent the same amount of time there.

8.4. Relating space and place to migration

In the early 1990s the 'spatial turn', which describes the social sciences' reawakened interest in spatial phenomena, gained importance. Moreover, at around the same time, scholars began to focus on the long-term cross-border activities of certain international migrants, which gave rise to the concept of 'transnationalism' (Collyer & King 2015). Transnationalism and transmigrants are defined by Nina Glick Schiller et al. (1992: 1-2) in the following way:

> [Transnationalism is] the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated "transmigrants". Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously.

Transnationalism (see e.g. Faist 2000b; 2000a; 2010; Glick Schiller 2005, Vertovec 2009) has been a widely used approach in migration studies and various other disciplines. Moreover, there have been calls to incorporate the concept of space more closely into transnationalism studies in order to avoid an overemphasis on the economic, political and cultural dimensions of transnationalism, such as transnational corporations, business networks or urban politics and social movements (Jackson et al. 2004: 1). Consequently, space is now becoming a more popular concept in transnationalism for describing the influence of globalisation on many aspects of mobility. Furthermore, transnationalism studies have expanded to include spaces and places other than those of country of origin and country of settlement. In transnationalism, space is often called 'transnational space', but other definitions of space and the role of places are also used in connection to transnationalism, such as transnational social fields (Glick Schiller 2005) or diaspora space (Brah 1996: 16).

Peter Jackson et al. (2004: xi) see transnationalism as "a complex and multidimensional field – a social space that can be occupied by a wide range of actors, not all of whom are, themselves, directly connected to transnational

migrant communities." In the Theory of Control Tuning, migration actors are defined as agents in direct contact with migration. Migration actors are not only those people who have left their place of origin or another place to move elsewhere; rather, migration actors are also local residents and authorities, who do not necessarily move anywhere. Local residents can be people who choose to remain or who were unable to migrate from a particular place from where others migrate. Moreover, local residents can also be people living along migration routes and places where migrants move and stay, and they do not necessarily share the same language, religion, nationality or ethnicity with migrants. Authorities are people who have control, such as the staff of international and non-governmental organisations, state administration or local councils. Authorities can be staff working in schools, health centres and work places. Authorities can also be fellow migrants or local residents who have some kind of authority over migrants or other people related to migration. Returnees are also migration actors. In practice, they are migrants who return to their area of origin or to a place where they have previously lived. They can also be people who have never lived in the particular place to which they are returning; rather, they are termed returnees because of their heritage and connection to others who have previously lived in that place. The Theory of Control Tuning takes into account a wider group of actors than is usually the case in migration studies, which often focus solely on migrants or at most migrants and local residents or migrants and authorities. In addition, the concept of migration actors differs from Alejandro Portes' (1997a: 16) narrow definition of their being people with membership of transnational communities. In his view, such people are "at least bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require a simultaneous presence in both." As Jackson et al. (2004: 13) state, migration research has rarely incorporated a more encompassing notion of transnationality that includes those who do not themselves migrate. Furthermore, few scholars consider authorities to be individuals and small groups; rather, authorities are commonly viewed in terms of structures.

In his work on the interaction between technology, society and space, Manuel Castells (2010: 407–459) emphasises that globalisation signifies a change in the spatial organisation of the world from a 'space of places' to a 'space of flows'. According to him, the new spatial process of the space of flows

is becoming the dominant spatial manifestation of power and function in our societies. Castells presents global cities as nodes in the space of flows. He recognises that in a networked society (of technology, cities and information flows), the space of flows does not permeate down to the whole realm of human experience. Instead, the overwhelming majority of people live in places, and so they perceive their space as place-based. In his opinion, "a place is a locale whose form, function, and meaning are self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity" (ibid: 453). According to Carmen Voigt-Graf (2004: 28), many terms in the transnationalism literature are used as metaphors without linking the social space to substantive geographical space. In her work (ibid: 29) transnational space is defined as:

> The sum of the nodes and [the] flows between them. The emphasis is on the fact that it is shaped by social activities and in turn shapes them. The transnational space as a whole comprises different sub-spaces defined by the sphere of transnational activities such as transnational economic spaces and transnational cultural spaces.

Voigt-Graf uses the concept of the space of flows to demonstrate that the formation of transnational spaces differs according to the transnational community in question. In her study, the nodes represent places in the network. They include the cultural hearth (the country, region or place of origin of migrants and their descendants), the new centre (a country in which migrants and their descendants have lived long enough to regard it as home, while personal links to the cultural hearth have been lost) and the diasporic node (a country, region or place where migrants have settled long enough and in sufficiently large numbers to have created a permanent presence as a community, even if individual migrants are merely passing through). Flows between the nodes, on the other hand, cover migration flows and flows of people, products, money, ideas, cultural goods, and information (ibid: 29). Applying Voigt-Graf's model to the Theory of Control Tuning, migration actors can be seen to engage in *control tuning* in both the node- and flow-based behavioural arena of migration. Thus, the nodes and flows include *multi routing*, *place sensing*, *spatial manouvering*, *establishing a new normal*, *re-rooting home* and *problem confronting* as experienced by different individual migration actors, small groups and communities.

Thomas Faist, in turn, defines the concept of transnational social space through the notion of various forms of capital (2000a: 199-200):

> Transnational social spaces consist of combinations of sustained and symbolic ties, their contents, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in multiple states. These spaces denote dynamic processes, not static notions of ties and positions. Cultural, political, and economic processes in transnational social spaces involve the accumulation, use, and effects of various sorts of capital, their volume and convertibility: economic capital, human capital, such as educational credentials, skills and know-how, and social capital, mainly resources inherent in or transmitted through social and symbolic ties.

The discussion on different types of capital (see e.g. Coleman 1988; Rosenlew 2012; Merisalo 2016) has been long and intense; thus it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the various definitions of, for instance, human and social capital. However, focusing solely on Faist's definition of social and human capital cited above, the Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates that social and human capital are indeed present in relation to space, place and the *space of control tuning* in migration. Faist describes human capital as educational credentials, skills and know-how. The Theory of Control Tuning provides some examples of migration actors, especially migrants, achieving human capital through education, skills and know-how in order to confront problems as part of *place coping*. In turn, *self sustaining* refers, for instance, to attempting to use one's own skills in migration, which is connected not only to working in order to earn a living but also to the often-challenging employee-employer relationship and the implementation of employment policies, rules and authority actions during and prior to migration. Human capital is also evident in *spatial manouvering* when migration actors *divide space* in relation to education. Another aspect of *spatial manouvering* and its relationship with human capital is that human capital can promote or prevent the ability to *keep safe*, *operate funds* and implement successful *place picking* in places of migration. Having an education and know-how influences a migration actor's ability to deal with money, find safe spaces and live or spend time in a preferred place. *Re-rooting*

home is, at times, affected by a migration actor's human capital. Educational credentials, skills and know-how can be used to benefit one's place of origin/home. However, *re-rooting home* for a short or longer time in order to acquire human capital may only become realistic when the situation in that place has improved for example when a conflict finishes. On the other hand, *re-rooting* home may be postponed or not even considered when the possibilities for gaining or using existing human capital in one's current place of residence are better than in one's place of origin. In *place coping*, human capital influences the possibilities for *establishing a new normal*. If an actor has an education, skills and know-how, s/he may use them in various places of migration to acclimatise to that new environment. Nonetheless, the human capital possessed by an actor does not always match the requirements of a new place, thus negatively affecting the successful *establishment of a new normal* and requiring the use of a number of control-tuning strategies. *Place sensing* is also tied to human capital through the level of *freedom to choose*. Migration actors have a different amount of *freedom to choose*, for instance, how, where and when to develop their skills. This then accentuates or reduces the need for and interest in migrating. Human capital is also evident in *multi routing* through *exiting* and *document solutioning*. Migrants with skills, education credentials and know-how are often required to obtain documents or exit without them. Moreover, in order to exit a place by following a particular political decision or policies that govern *exiting* and migration, a migrant requires skills in understanding such decisions or policies. Having education can promote this understanding. Furthermore, *exiting* because of reduced possibilities for wellbeing in everyday life may be postponed if a migration actor possesses human capital in the form of skills and know-how.

Social capital as "resources inherent in or transmitted through social and symbolic ties" (Faist 2000a: 199–200) is especially relevant to the discussion above on human capital, but it also has general relevance for other aspects of the Theory. The exchange of ideas, assistance, obligations, expectations and practical abilities are very much connected with social capital. Information flows, remittances and connections move and operate in the *space of control tuning* through the complex ties between migration actors. When social capital includes the social position of an individual or membership of a group, or if it concerns the "common good" or the good of an individual actor, issues like networks, associations, identity and access to resources become important.

Social capital is present in all aspects of the Theory of Control Tuning, as the behavioural arena is affected by social capital in, for example, the form of social connections between similar individuals and between dissimilar individuals, and through networks and related social and cultural values. Moreover, it should be emphasised that social networks are created not only for the purpose of producing economic value.

Migration movements involve both mobility and immobility (moving and staying put), and one aspect of migration movements is time in relation to space and place. Movement from one space or place to another requires differing length of time. Time is also present when migration actors stay put for different periods or never migrate. Furthermore, the experiences, attitudes and images related to space and place change over time. For instance, Relph (1976a: 33) states that:

> Time is usually a part of our experiences of places, for these experiences must be bound up with flux or continuity. And places themselves are the present expressions of past experiences and events and of hopes for the future.

Tuan (1977: 118) observes that time is "implied everywhere in the ideas of movement, effort, freedom, goal, and accessibility". Even though the Theory of Control Tuning is not, as such, tied to a particular time, as it has a similar relevance for migration-related *control tuning* 30 years ago, today or in the future, the Theory still includes a time perspective. Time is strongly connected to places, as can be seen, for example, in the *hindsighting* aspect of *re-rooting home*, which explains what could have been in the past, present and future if situations had been different. In the Theory of Control Tuning, time is tied to the degree of *freedom to choose* how and where to move. For instance, protracted refugee situations take time, and *document solutioning* and the status determination process also affect time in relation to the ability to move. Moreover, migration actors might move within spaces and places as they have done for decades or hundreds of years, as can be the case in *exiting* and entering places during *multi routing*. Furthermore, bodily movement is given meaning through time in relation to places: how long it takes to move from here to there, how long one stays here compared to there. Moreover, in *establishing a new normal*, surroundings, old traditions, cultural products

and behaviour may change over time. What was initially new and unfamiliar becomes familiar and normal as time passes, while, by contrast, some issues and situations remain seemingly unaffected by time and the changing of space and place, as if time had stopped. Stories passed on for generations bring one to places of the past.

The demolition of places of residence, forced relocations and relocating because of security concerns also sometimes occur quickly without warning. Moreover, safe spaces and places can change over time, becoming dangerous and requiring movement to another place. *In spatial manoeuvring*, time plays an important part in limiting movement or finding accessible spaces that correspond to the needs and situations of migration actors. Furthermore, home may change over time depending on a migration actor's feelings and experiences. *Re-rooting home* allows migration actors to enter their past, face their current life and perhaps initiate a new beginning in relation to the future. In migration, time is sometimes calculated as the time since one was able to see loved ones and other significant people. Time can also prevent reunion with others when they are living in different places. Furthermore, memories of places and migration movements may fade with time. The number of migration actors in a place also changes over time due to their moving in or out of that place. This then requires action, such as building a new school in that place in order to respond to future challenges. *Problem confronting* is also connected to time – sometimes problems change in time and space and the needs and the related actions for dealing with these problems can change as time passes and *control tuning* varies. In turn, health problems in migration become worse or disappear in time and space depending on an actor's ability to move in space to seek medical help. In connection to movement, those with a handicap and those who are able bodied often experience time and space differently. In turn, developing one's own skills and moving between places of residence, education and/or employment require varying lengths of time in different places. There are also periods of time when a migration actor is either able or unable to attend school or work. The control of these movements related to home, education and employment can also be seen as a routine activity in space and time.

According to Melanie Griffiths et al. (2013), little attention has been paid to temporalities in migration. Migration studies often take for granted that there is an aspect of time involved, but this is not reflected in a social theory of

time or even discussed per se. Furthermore, there is often a mismatch between theories of time and temporality and the empirical studies in the migration literature that include a time perspective. In their paper, Griffiths et al. explain time through five modes of thinking: flows and moments, rhythms and cycles, tempos, synchronicity and disjuncture, and the future. According to Griffiths et al., three aspects of time are relevant to migration:

> The first of these refers to the different ways of collectively experiencing and understanding time - cultural, industrial and 'natural' - and how mobility and migration can highlight differences between them. Secondly, there are differences in scale, which may be related to collective experiences, but may also be more individualised. The third aspect concerns different orderings or rhythms of timescales – cyclical, linear, future-orientated, or 'time out'. These three ways of considering time are of course inter-related. (ibid: 3)

By focusing on migration research, mobilities and life-course studies, Griffiths et al. also demonstrate that states are linked to time. For example, states use temporal devices and rationalities like censuses and other surveys to govern everything from citizenship to bus passes (ibid: 29). Migrants are part of state bureaucratic processes and procedures that occur in, and in relation to, places and spaces, as is the case with *document solutioning* in the Theory of Control Tuning. Time is also related to migrant subjectivity. For example, Griffiths et al. (ibid) ask how the imagined future affects experiences of the present. In the Theory of Control Tuning, this is evident, for instance, in *spatial manouvering* and the wish to live in a particular place. The dream of living elsewhere may take a long time to realise, or it may never come true, and, while hoping for a better future, migrants must continue to cope in their current place of residence. In addition to its connection to states and migrant subjectivity, time is also linked to communities. This includes spatial aspects of inclusion and exclusion that are also significant in migration studies. In the Theory of Control Tuning, this aspect of time is more present in relation to *link keeping*, which demonstrates the kinds of roles that, for example, communities play in migration-related *control tuning*. (For an overview of community and time, see Bastian 2014).

Time-space compression is also apparent in migration-related *control tuning*. Time-space compression affects *control tuning* both in terms of technological possibilities, such using the Internet or a smart phone, and in the mode of travel used for migration – for instance, car, airplane or on foot. As described earlier in this dissertation, these are some of the intervening factors affecting *control tuning*. The time it takes to gain knowledge of events in another place also depends on how fast information flows by telephone, word of mouth or on the Internet. Finally, in addition to the above-mentioned time-perspectives, *control tuning* in migration has its own time perspective – control-tuning causes, strategies, outcomes and intervening factors may overlap and appear simultaneously or in sequence. Moreover, different lengths of time occur between them. For example, control-tuning causes can occur on different days, strategies are adopted at different times of the day, and outcomes surface in different months.

8.5. Migration and central binaries

In many ways, migration is a dichotomised field of study (see e.g. King 2012). Binaries such as internal/international, agency/structure, micro/macro and forced/voluntary are often a central way of thinking in migration research. This has somewhat hampered theory formation, as researchers have struggled to theorise such extreme concepts with descriptive data and inadequate methodologies. Migration researchers have long discussed such binaries and their role in theory development; however, it seems that few tangible solutions and theories have resulted from these discussions. These binaries are very much interrelated; thus, I introduce the relevant comparative literature in this section.

The Theory of Control Tuning combines all these binaries under one theory in the following way. First, migration actors possess agency; thus, it is they who practise *control tuning*. However, authorities, in addition to being individuals, also can be groups that affect other individuals and groups. In addition, authorities represent structures that prohibit or allow the actions of migration actors, including *control tuning*. The Theory of Control Tuning emphasises the main concern and behaviour of individuals and small groups, but these concerns and behaviours are strongly affected by, for example,

migration and other policies implemented by states and other administrative entities. This is obvious, for instance, in *problem confronting* when dealing with *self sustaining* and *staying healthy*, or in *establishing a new normal* when *cultural customising* occurs. The strong connection between migration actors and structures is also apparent through migration policies that affect, for instance, *document solutioning*, *exiting* and entering in relation to *multi routing*. The Theory demonstrates how those participating in internal or international migration experience the same control-tuning causes, strategies and outcomes. When it comes to the binary of forced and voluntary migration, the Theory of Control Tuning again explains *control tuning* as the main type of behaviour, irrespective of the legal statuses of migration actors or the reasons for migrating (conflict-induced or employment-induced, for instance). Thus, there is no need to separate migration types in order to account for some kind of variation in *control tuning*. However, in the Theory of Control Tuning, I have chosen to highlight some cases as clearly forced, such as *control tuning* related to individuals trafficked for sex work or abducted as children to work as servants or child soldiers, or those who are targets of forced relocations due to, for example, 'development'. In these cases, there is clear force exerted by others. *Control tuning* is the main concern of various migration actors independent of the particular migration perspectives (micro/macro), the particular role of actions and institutions (agency/structure) or particular types of migration (forced/voluntary, internal/international) in question. They all form part of *control tuning*, and *control tuning* appears in relation to them all and to whatever may lay between them.

The Theory of Control Tuning therefore introduces *control tuning* as a common concern and a behavioural pattern for both forms of migration – internal and international – thus uniting them under one theory and making no distinction between the two. *Control tuning* for *link keeping*, *encountering authority*, *knowledge dealing* and *place coping* occurs regardless of whether migration is internal or international. Migration actors implement *control tuning* irrespective of whether they move or stay put, or whether the direction of migration is rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-rural or urban-urban or a combination of these. Aspects of *multi routing*, *place sensing*, *spatial manoeuvring*, *establishing a new normal*, *re-rooting home* and *problem confronting* are relevant to all these phases and stages of migration.

International and internal migration have long been separated as different lines of research. As Russell King and Ronald Skeldon (2010: 1620) observe, two almost separate bodies of literature exist on internal and international migration. Moreover, they are written from different conceptual, theoretical and methodological perspectives, with little dialogue between the two fields. Furthermore, international migration has attracted more attention than internal migration. Theories of internal migration date back to the 19th century, for instance to the work of Ravenstein (1885). By contrast, international migration research is relatively new, coming to prominence with the widely used books *The Age of Migration* (Castles & Miller 1993) and *Migration Theory* (Brettell & Hollifield 2008). Nevertheless, Skeldon (2006: 15) states that internal and international migrations should be considered part of a unified system rather than as separate phenomena. Indeed, there have been calls for a common framework or theory to combine the two forms of migration, but to date such endeavours have largely failed. According to King and Skeldon (2010), the most ambitious attempt to link the two is Zelinsky's (1971) 'hypothesis of the mobility transition', where various stages of the mobility cycle are presented. However, it has been criticised, among other issues, for its factual errors. King and Skeldon (ibid.) present three approaches they consider effective for linking internal and international migration: systems analysis – originally based on Mabogunje's (1970) model –, migrant integration in relation to, for example, economic, social and political integration, and the migration-development nexus. One point made by Aderanti Adepoju (1998: 390) in relation to linking internal and international migration is that distance is a somewhat challenging factor to theorise, as it varies greatly according to the geographical area or state in question. The Theory of Control Tuning, which presents a behavioural pattern, does not have this challenge related to distance mentioned by Adepoju. As a theory that is based on conceptualisation, the Theory of Control Tuning does not point to any particular geographical area (or time or people).

The agency/structure binary is one of the crucial binaries in the study of migration, as is also the case more generally in the social sciences. In the Theory of Control Tuning, agency refers to migrants who move or stay put, local residents and authorities. Agency has various definitions, ranging from purely individual autonomous actors exercising their power over the world beyond to social actors exercising agency to process social experience and

invent ways of coping with life (Bakewell 2010: 1694). By contrast, structure, as William H. Sewell (1992) explains, is challenging to define. For example, some explanations of structure reduce the significance of the agency of social actors, and the metaphor of structure implies stability and ignores the aspect of change. Structure is often defined according to Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration, where structure has a dual nature as both the "medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize" (Giddens 1984: 25). Structure not only shapes people's social practices; people's practices also constitute and reproduce structures (Sewell 1992: 4). Social structures should be seen not only as constraints on individual actors but also as enablers of their actions (Bakewell 2010:1695). Oliver Bakewell (ibid: 1696) suggests that instead of using Giddens' theory of structuration, which is inadequate for analysing agency and structure in migration studies, it would be more useful to adopt the view of critical realism. In Parker's view (quoted in Bakewell 2010: 1696) "social structures have emergent properties – they are the outcomes of agency which 'emerge' or pass a developmental threshold, beyond which they exercise their own causal powers, independently of the agency which produced them". Thus, as Bakewell puts it, "social structure can exist at any time regardless of the agency of any social actor" (ibid: 1696).

Bakewell (2010: 1690) also remarks that some approaches in migration research adopt a more deterministic position and underestimate the decisions and behaviour of individual actors. Conversely, according to Bakewell, many other studies focus on individual agency and struggle to recognise the role of broader social structures in shaping migration patterns; rather, they examine these structures in relation to individual decision-making. Nevertheless, others attempt to find a middle ground that balances the concepts of agency and structure. Hein de Haas (2010, 2011), in turn, discusses how so called push-pull models (models which explain the various economic, environmental and demographical factors that push people from places and pull them to other places) fail to recognise a human being as someone with agency and the ability to make choices. In addition, according to de Haas (ibid.), such models do not help to conceptualise migration as a process. Neo-classical migration theory, including theories of rural to urban migration or the costs-risks of migration, provides macro-level explanations for migration in terms of geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour. However, at the micro level it views migrants as rational actors who want to maximise their income and

who choose to move on the basis of cost-benefit calculations. Thus, according to the theory, migration actors possess free choice and full access to information, and people are expected to move to where they are the most productive in terms of wages. As de Haas (2011: 9) concludes, these models nevertheless struggle to explain, for example, return migration, migration in the absence of wage differentials and non-economic drivers of migration.

The Theory of Control Tuning views migration actors as individuals with agency for processing control. Structures provide some boundaries for their ability to act, thus influencing the possible need for migration actors to react and change their control-tuning strategy. Structures work as intervening factors that affect control-tuning outcomes. Moreover, structures are changed by migration actors' *control tuning*, as, for example, in the case of successful demonstrations and sit-ins. Nevertheless, in addition to the significance of micro and macro levels, the so called meso level is also important in the Theory of Control Tuning. In migration research, networks have attracted great attention as meso-level phenomena. According to Douglas S. Massey et al. (1993: 448):

> Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration.

Networks are crucial in the Theory's sub-core category of *link keeping*, but they are beyond the scope of this dissertation and are explained in another study. However, in the context of *place coping*, networks also occur, particularly in the form of intervening factors. Networks influence control-tuning paths and control-tuning outcomes. Moreover, networks are especially present in relation to *document solutioning*, *establishing a new normal* and *being surrounded by the unfamiliar*. Networks play a role in all types of migration movements, not just in the international migration mentioned by Massey et al. above. In addition, the meso level is obvious through what Castles (2004: 859-860) terms the "migration industry", which develops out of migration networks. This includes "travel agents, lawyers, bankers, labour

recruiters, brokers, interpreters, and housing agents" who want migration to continue in order to maintain their businesses. Thus, the migration industry organises migration even if states try to restrict movement. Migration industry is most clearly part of the Theory of Control Tuning in relation to *document solutioning*, where visas for movement and documents for a range of other matters are organised. Furthermore, the migration industry is part of *spatial manoeuvring* for *place picking* and *operating funds* in relation to, for example, finding housing, and in *multi routing* in relation to human smuggling and trafficking. The migration industry can also be found in other aspects of *control tuning*.

The Theory of Control Tuning does not distinguish between *control tuning* practised in forced or voluntary migration. By contrast, the Theory demonstrates that migration actors, irrespective of the forced or voluntary nature of their migration, share a common main concern and behaviour found in all migration. As many studies of migration movements have observed, it is often difficult even to clearly determine what constitutes forced and voluntary migration, as migration movements and decisions often involve aspects of both. In practice, migration actors may differ over whether they consider their migration forced or voluntary: what is forced migration for one may be voluntary for another. For instance, some migrants see limitations in the ability to earn a living as the causes of forced migration, whereas others would consider them part of their voluntary migration.

De Haas (2011: 14) calls the forced/voluntary binary simplistic, as it assumes that some migrants enjoy total freedom, whereas others have no agency at all. Anthony Richmond (1988, 1993) promotes the idea of a continuum, with proactive individuals and groups at one end and reactive individuals and groups at the other. Thus, at the proactive end of the continuum, the decision to move would be taken with great consideration, after analysing the relevant information, whereas at the reactive end it could be taken in a state of panic to escape from an intolerable threat, with no time to properly consider the move. In between the people who occupy these extremes, who Richmond terms political (refugees and asylum seekers) and economic migrants, are individuals who respond to the failure of their social system to provide for their various fundamental needs by deciding to migrate. The Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates that various control-tuning causes, strategies and outcomes in the particular behavioural arena of

migration produce situations where migration actors need to promote their own control or that of others, and that there is variation in the freedom migration actors can exercise in reacting to the extant control situation. Building on Amartya Sen's (1999) ideas on freedoms and capability, de Haas develops the idea of human mobility, which he considers a fundamental part of human development for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons (2011: 18):

> First, people can only move if they have the capabilities to do so. Human mobility can be defined as the capability to decide where to live – and migration is the associated functioning. Expansions in this capability (through accessing social, human and/or economic resources) are an expansion of the choices open to an individual and therefore of their freedom. This is the *intrinsic* argument why mobility can be an integral part of human development. At the same time, movement can enable people to improve other dimensions relevant to their capabilities such as their income, their health, the education of themselves and of their children, and their self-respect. This is the *instrumental* value of mobility for development. This is why it is important to distinguish between the *capability* to move and the act of movement. In fact, some manifestations of migration (e.g. refugee migration) are a result of the choices and freedoms of individuals becoming more restricted. So, enhanced mobility is not only the freedom to move – it is also the freedom to stay in one's preferred location. Having choice to stay or to go, and where to go, captures the very essence of agency.

De Haas (ibid: 19) then moves on to conceptualise capabilities using Isaiah Berlin's (1969) concepts of negative and positive liberty. Negative liberty means the absence of barriers, constraints and obstacles, whereas positive liberty explains the possibility or the fact of acting in a way that allows one to take control of one's life and to realise one's fundamental purposes. According to de Haas, this concept concerns the agency of individuals and groups to change their life circumstances and escape from disadvantaged positions. To contribute to the conceptualisation of forced/voluntary migration, de Haas demonstrates that people require capabilities in order to migrate, and they need a certain amount of access to positive freedoms (social, human and/or material capital) to actually be capable of fleeing towards a place. If people are

deprived of both liberties, or what de Haas calls freedoms, they are generally forced to stay where they are; and in conflicts the most deprived are typically those who have no other choice than to remain. Restrictive immigration and emigration policies can decrease people's negative freedoms to migrate and lead to situations of what de Haas terms 'involuntary immobility'. However, even in the presence of liberal migration policies where people enjoy abundant negative freedoms, if people are deprived of basic positive freedoms and access to human, social and economic resources, they will still be unable to migrate, especially long distances. De Haas (2011: 20) proposes that "most emigration is likely to occur when people enjoy a maximum of negative freedoms and a moderate level of positive freedoms, as very high levels of positive freedoms and declining spatial opportunity differentials would somehow decrease their aspiration to migrate".

'Mixed migration' is a term that has been recently used to deal with the conceptual problems of 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration. This term is used particularly often in the migration policy arena (see e.g. Van Hear et al. 2009; Scheel & Ratfisch, 2014). Nevertheless, the use of the term is somewhat complicated, as it is connected to the promotion of states' migration control and the securitisation of refugee and asylum issues through its use by the UNHCR (Van Hear et al. 2009: 6–11). Nevertheless, some of the term's features coincide with those of the Theory of Control Tuning. For example, migration actors (migrants, local residents and authorities) have mixed motivations for moving. For instance, some actors exit a place or situation because of forced relocation and involuntary migration, such as abduction, or due to false promises of a better life. In addition, *exiting* also occurs to ensure better safety and protection in the case of a conflict, natural disaster or family violence. Moreover, decreased opportunities for wellbeing in everyday life, disliking one's current area of residence, living away from loved ones and/or other migrants and *exiting* in order to return all play a significant role in *multi routing*. Furthermore, these motivations may change during migration: what began as *multi routing* to flee a conflict can later turn into further migration to secure better employment or education opportunities elsewhere. Moreover, this can later turn again into escaping from violence, conflict or any other type of disaster. The Theory of Control Tuning provides some examples of the motivation for migration in terms of the ability to choose how, where and when to develop one's own skills and how this affects *control tuning* in *place*

sensing. In *spatial manoeuvring*, for instance, wanting to live in a particular place is affected by receiving remittances that enable migration, when authorities decide where migrants live or *keeping safe* can function as a motivation for migration. Migration actors with differing legal or adopted statuses may experience similar circumstances, structural opportunities or obstacles in the same spaces and places. Thus, local residents with citizenship and asylum seekers in status determination processes may encounter the same opportunities for, or problems in, obtaining education or employment in a particular place. Moreover, asylum seekers and recognised refugees, economic migrants and those fleeing natural disasters (who are not legally seen as asylum seekers or refugees) face similar problems in *control tuning* in relation to issues of *multi routing*, *establishing a new normal*, *problem confronting*, *spatial manoeuvring*, *place sensing* and *re-rooting home*. Another issue that supports the idea of mixed migration in the Theory of Control Tuning is that *control tuning* occurs in migration routes that are used by legally differentiated individuals or groups. Asylum seekers, recognised refugees, education- and employment-induced migrants as well as authorities and local residents often use same routes in order to migrate elsewhere.

When examining the concept of mixed migration, Van Hear and Stephen Castles (Van Hear et al. 2009: 11–12) come to similar conclusions to those introduced above in relation to the Theory of Control Tuning. Van Hear and Castles see mixed migration as the result of the closely related causes of forced and voluntary migration in countries of origin, including linkages between underdevelopment, impoverishment, human rights abuse and conflict, economic dislocation and weak states. They understand that people usually move for a combination of reasons, including persecution and a lack of opportunity and livelihood. Van Hear and Castles also agree that motivations may change in the course of migration, that refugees and economic migrants are closely linked in some transit countries, and that both 'forced' and 'voluntary' migrants use agents and smugglers to cross borders when legal migration becomes more restricted. They also state that refugees and economic migrants can have similar experiences in receiving countries, and that their experiences of return and repatriation may also be similar. However, Van Hear and Castles fail to consider local residents and authorities in connection to migration; thus, in this sense, the Theory of Control Tuning combines more actors within mixed migration.

8.6. Related grounded theory studies

Grounded theory studies come from a range of disciplines, and they are often multi- and interdisciplinary in nature. In this section, I provide some examples of grounded theory studies that share certain characteristics, such as control, migration, strategies, processes, space or place, with the Theory of Control Tuning.

Control can be a central part of a grounded theory study. As a theoretical code (which conceptualises how substantive codes relate to each other as hypotheses to be integrated into a theory), control can, for instance, belong to a mainline family. In the theoretical code of a mainline family, social control explains, for example, how people are kept in line (Glaser 1978: 77). Control can also be found in studies with other theoretical codes. An example of control as a process is found in Annemarie Dowling-Castronovo's (2015) study on the theory of regaining control. She demonstrates how older adults with new-onset urinary incontinence address loss of control. In her study, urinary incontinence is part of a broader concern during hospitalisation: loss of physical, spatial-temporal, and social control. She identified patterns of regaining control, such as transferring control, exercising "wobbly" control, and adjusting to the degree of control regained. The Theory of Control Tuning also includes loss of control, relating to several causes, as the beginning of a control-tuning path. Losing control is managed through control-tuning strategies that lead to particular control-tuning outcomes, such as *lost control* and *regained control*. In their grounded theory study, Wendy Hall and Elaine Carty (1993) examined control in connection to an early discharge programme related to giving birth and found that women considered their home environments safe, relaxing and supportive. Moreover, they implemented prenatal, intrapartum and postpartum strategies that impacted the process of taking control. As demonstrated in the previous examples, grounded theory studies often view control and autonomy as connected (Gynnild 2015), and this has also been the case in some grounded theories related to students' strategies for optimising personal resources (Hakel 2015), or part-time educators (Chametzky 2015). The Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates that *control tuning* is a behaviour requiring the adoption of different strategies for coping with various events, situations, feelings and actors during migration.

Glen Gatin's (2013) theory of keeping your distance adopts a similar approach to that used by the Theory of Control Tuning. The theory of keeping your distance explains the systematic way that people use distance for controlling their lives. As in the Theory of Control Tuning, Gatin's theory also explains this behaviour as consisting of conscious and unconscious strategies in people's everyday life. In Gatin's theory, these strategies are implemented to regulate distance, both physical and emotional. Control and coping can be found as part of a study on seeking a new normal for adjusting after cancer treatment (Sandsund et al. 2013). As Sandsund and her collagues show, control and coping can be central aspects in relation to a new normal also in other fields of life than in relation to migration.

Space and place have received some attention in grounded theory studies, but they are seldom the central focus of these studies. One exception to this, however, is Mark Rosenbaum's (2005) study on consumers' experience of place. Rosenbaum demonstrates that consumers are social agents who enter places not only to purchase services and products but also to experience feelings of human togetherness, such as companionship and emotional support that only other individuals can provide. He demonstrates that while products and services are important in sustaining a consumer's health and wellbeing, so too are companionship and emotional support. The similarity to the Theory of Control Tuning and its conceptualisation of place is that Rosebaum's theory also approaches place through experience. Place provides an environment for interaction and consequently a sense of togetherness and companionship. However, in the Theory of Control Tuning, place also provides an environment for conflict and discrimination. In addition, the Theory of Control Tuning does not present personal experience as the only way to understand place; rather, it can also be understood through the experiences of others. Besides Rosebaum's theory, other studies dealing with a sense of experience and compassion can also be found. For instance, Ann Gallagher et al.'s (2015) study on the role of nurses in end-of-life decision-making in intensive care units demonstrates that one aspect of providing support to the families of a dying patient is to create time-space. This includes, for instance, making spaces that serve the best interests of the dying person and his/her family in order to create as comfortable an experience as possible for saying goodbye. Another example of a space-related study is that of Gaëtan Mourmant (2012), which explored the creation and development of

entrepreneurial freedom, and where space is understood as nations, regions, a startup community, virtual networks, cities or parts or entities of companies.

It is, however, challenging to find classic grounded theories on migration. Indeed, Dr Glaser, a renowned authority on classic grounded theory, agrees that there is a lack of such migration studies (personal communication, 10th October 2017). Nevertheless, some grounded theories on migration are available. For example, Dongxiao Qin and M. Brinton Lykes (2006) identify a basic psychological process, reweaving a fragmented self, based on migrant female graduate students from China. This process explains how these migrants see themselves in the context of their environment abroad and in the context of their homeland. Reweaving a fragmented self occurs through three sub-processes: weaving self, fragmenting self and reweaving self. Such a need to identify one's own sense of self is also relevant in the Theory of Control Tuning, for instance in the way migration actors *establish a new normal* and consider *re-rooting home*.

Some studies are termed grounded theories even though, from the perspective of classic grounded theory, they are in fact qualitative studies that misappropriate grounded theory methodology. This is a common problem in various fields of study, and migration is no exception. Some studies follow the grounded theory perspective of Strauss and Corbin (see e.g. Houston & Venkatesh 1996; Yakushko 2010; Sherwood & Liebling-Kalifani 2012) or Charmaz (see e.g. Bacallao & Smokowski 2007; Goodall et al. 2010). Moreover, in nursing similar studies can also be found that examine health issues related to different types of migrants. One such study following the Strauss and Corbin version of grounded theory methodology is Lisa Davenport's (2017) study on living with the choice, which examines the experiences of Iraqi refugees resettled in the United States. The Theory of Control Tuning indicates that *confronting problems* such as *self sustaining* and *staying healthy* are central aspects of control. Davenport comes to similar conclusions, as she demonstrates the importance of mental and physical health problems in resettlement. Such problems are connected to arriving in a new place, adjusting to a new culture and seeking self-sufficiency. In her study, these problems are also related to place and time, even though her study does not explore place and time per se. However, time and place are present, for instance, in relation to refugees facing fear when the deadline for withdrawal of agency support approaches and there is a possibility of becoming homeless.

In turn, Mie-Na Lee Srein (2012) represents a classic grounded theory study of migration. The study is based on urban female Somali refugees, whose central concern is achieving better. Here too, the central issues of migration are considered to include the need to cope with the challenges presented by constant uncertainty, human and material loss, high poverty and limited access to education and jobs. Achieving better, according to Srein, means transcending the female refugees' circumstances, cultivating personal and collective enrichment and establishing varying aspects of security.

9. CONTRIBUTIONS

This chapter demonstrates the contribution of both the Theory of Control Tuning and the present study to existing knowledge. Here, I explain how the Theory advances research on control and on space and place, and I explain the Theory's novel contribution to our thinking on migration binaries. I also demonstrate how the study advances multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research. In addition, I highlight the benefits of this study in relation to demanding fieldwork and to classic grounded theory methodology.

9.1. The Theory of Control Tuning and its contributions to knowledge

> Theoretical breakthroughs do not arise out of additional data, but out of the ability to reconstitute a perceptual field identifying connections not previously seen. Such insights require that we gain some distance from reality in order to identify patterns lost at close range. (Portes 1997b: 802–803)

The Theory of Control Tuning contributes to both theoretic and conceptual knowledge, and it also presents novel, previously unseen, connections. Its theoretical contributions are visible through its breadth and depth. Through its incorporation of a wide range of activities, issues and actors, the Theory of Control Tuning shows that it represents a broader view than is normally taken in research on migration. In practice, migration involves all spheres of life;

thus a theory on migration should aim to explain its complex character as well as possible. The Theory explains *control tuning* with a variety of perspectives related to *link keeping*, *encountering authority*, *knowledge dealing* and *place coping*. Moreover, the Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates a new way of combining this variety of issues.

The theory is based on a wide range of situations and types of migration, and the data on which the Theory is founded were gathered through multi-sited fieldwork in different nation-states, regions, urban and rural areas and border areas. I collected the data both while on the move and staying in place among migration actors who were also mobile and stationary; thus both movement and remaining in place are embedded in the Theory. The data includes migration actors as individuals and groups who possess different statuses in various spheres of life and who act in societies in a number of ways. These actors are part of the macro, meso and micro levels of migration, and they both impact and are impacted by these three levels. To base a Theory on such a wide foundation also guarantees its strength and importance in contributing to knowledge. In addition to the Theory's breadth, its depth is indicated by the fact that rather than remaining at the descriptive level, it discusses migration through a conceptual theory with a causal process, *control tuning*, in the behavioural arena of migration. The Theory accounts for the maximum amount of variation in *control tuning* with the minimum number of categories and properties; thus the Theory demonstrates parsimony and scope (Glaser 1992: 18).

I have introduced a number of new concepts in relation to migration and control. *Control tuning* refers to the action of modifying control for different purposes in relation to managing events, situations, feelings, issues, objects and people during migration. Control-tuning paths express the particular causes, conditions, strategies, intervening factors and outcomes that occur while implementing *control tuning*. *Place coping* demonstrates how migration actors deal and cope with space and place while moving along diverse routes and while staying in spaces and places. *Place coping* includes feelings and actual behaviour, both in everyday life and when facing particular challenges and problems. *Link keeping* explains how migration actors remain in connection with others. *Knowledge dealing* describes the role of knowledge in migration, particularly when a migration actor possesses or lacks knowledge. *Encountering authority* shows how control and power relations

affect migration through the particular roles of migration actors in relation to others, and it explains the practical implications of those roles. *Link keeping*, *knowledge dealing* and *encountering authority* include several concepts; however, they will be introduced in more-depth in future publications.

Under the sub-core category of *place coping*, *multi routing* demonstrates how migration actors behave in connection to moving between areas and crossing borders (both physical and mental). Both *exiting* and *document solutioning* appear in relation to *multi routing*. In turn, *place sensing* involves the manner in which places are felt and seen by migration actors. It demonstrates how migration actors attribute meanings to spaces and places, and how they prioritise some places in relation to others. *Place sensing* includes two properties: *freedom to choose* and *emotional ride*. Next, *spatial manoeuvring* explains the importance of the real and imagined qualities of living in a particular place, the availability of funds, the safety of migration actors and the division of space for different purposes during migration. *Spatial manoeuvring* includes *place picking*, *operating funds*, *keeping safe* and *dividing space*.

The concept of *establishing a new normal* unravels the way new environments and cultures encircle actors in migration. It explains how migration actors must consider different family, gender and generation roles, their interaction with others, and the physical and mental environments in diverse spaces and places. *Cultural customising*, *family-role adjusting* and *being surrounded by the unfamiliar* are part of *establishing a new normal*. In turn, *re-rooting home* explains how changes in places and the feelings and practical issues related to places affect returning to a place of origin or a place called home. *Reality checking*, *hindsighting* and *practical reckoning* appear in relation to *re-rooting home*.

Finally, *self sustaining*, *staying healthy* and *okaying* contribute to *problem confronting*, which explains how different migration actors experience and view problems existing in relation to migration and *place coping*. In addition, the dissertation also presents the concepts of *local mingling*, which refers to how friendship and being local appear in migration, *negative tagging*, which demonstrates how a person can be treated with suspicion and a target of negative actions, and *area grasping*, which explains how a migration actor understands and imagines a geographical area or a place.

A grounded theory study is validated through four central criteria: *fit*, *relevance*, *work* and *modifiability* (Glaser 1998: 236–238). The Theory of Control Tuning represents the pattern of data it claims to express, and its concepts are grounded in the data. I have generated the concepts through open and selective coding. They represent the names that best explain the pattern I found in the data and which I conceptualised. The pattern and its names originate from the data and are united in the Theory of Control Tuning; thus the Theory and the data fit together. Emergent concepts arose from the data; thus they relate to participants' real experiences in migration. The Theory of Control Tuning explains 'what is really going on': the processing of control and its continual resolution by those involved through *control tuning*. Hence, as a grounded theory, the Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates what is important to people. Through the direct link between data and theory, the theory is relevant and has impact. Thus by demonstrating the connection between practical occurrences in the data and theoretical concepts, the theory bridges the gap between practical behaviour and theory in migration. This workability demonstrates that we can understand and apply a theory to migration. When there are new incidents and new data, they can be applied to the Theory of Control Tuning. Through constant comparison, the theory can be repeatedly modified and worked with relevance. The Theory of Control Tuning can be modified later by anyone with new migration data or data from any other substantive area. Consequently, through further modification, the Theory of Control Tuning can be raised from a substantive to a formal level, thus giving it universal applicability to explain human behaviour.

These criteria of fit, relevance, work and modifiability contribute to the theory's grab. I see *control tuning* everywhere. In addition to migration, it is also present, for instance, in shopping, childcare and politics. Others have told me that they recognise the pattern of *control tuning* in their own lives, but I would also like to challenge the reader to investigate how s/he understands the theory and whether there are situations in his/her research or own life that the theory explains.

The Theory of Control Tuning, as well as the study through which it was developed, contribute to knowledge on migration. Migration is such an important and all-encompassing phenomenon – with its historical, present and future perspectives – that novel ways of understanding it contribute to our practical and theoretical knowledge of many areas of human activity. I will

now explain how the Theory of Control Tuning has widened understanding of the fields within the scope of this study.

9.2. Benefits for research on control

The Theory of Control Tuning reveals how migration actors continuously deal with control through various control-tuning paths in the behavioural arena of migration. These control-tuning paths include several control-tuning causes (table 1), positive and negative conditions, control-tuning strategies (table 2), three kinds of intervening factors (basic factors, varying factors and control-supportive instruments) and control-tuning outcomes (table 3). When an actor disagrees with the prevailing control situation, s/he is likely to attempt to change it. A control-tuning cause with a negative condition occurs and the actor implements a control-tuning strategy or strategies to obtain a desired control-tuning outcome. Intervening factors affect the control-tuning path influencing the control-tuning outcome. If the outcome is satisfactory, a positive condition takes place and there is no need to change the prevailing control situation. However, if the control-tuning outcome is dissatisfactory, the actor is likely to attempt to change the prevailing control situation. S/he can do this by using the same strategy or strategies of *control tuning* as before, but s/he can also adopt other strategies which may be more fruitful for obtaining the desired control-tuning outcome. Thus, a control-tuning path ends when an actor experiences a positive condition and has no cause to seek another control-tuning strategy or strategies, or it continues if the actor still strives to change the prevailing control situation and a negative condition prevails. (Theoretical memo 290914/5). The behavioural arena of migration provides the surroundings for *control tuning* in relation to events, situations, feelings, people, objects and issues.

The Theory of Control Tuning contributes to research on control through defining control-related behaviour with a new concept, *control tuning*. The Theory presents control-tuning paths with the 31 control-tuning causes, 27 control-tuning strategies and 22 control-tuning outcomes that were found during the grounded theory analysis. To my knowledge, no other research has defined control as a latent behavioural pattern through particular control-tuning paths consisting of these particular causes, strategies and outcomes.

Furthermore, control has not been previously defined in this particular behavioural arena in connection to migration or any other phenomenon.

In this study, I have demonstrated how the Theory of Control Tuning relates to extant definitions of control and to other research concerning control. For instance, I compare the Theory of Control Tuning with Langer's work on how a strategy does not necessarily lead to a desired outcome (Langer 1983). Moreover, I describe Rothbaum et al.'s (1982) approach to control as primary control – involving attempts to change the world to fit the desires and needs of the individual – and secondary control, which concerns attempts to adapt to the world. By contrast, Heckhausen and Schultz (1995) see primary and secondary control as targets rather than a process. These types of control are also present in the Theory of Control Tuning, and I analyse the Theory of Control Tuning through H. Heckhausen's Rubicon model (ibid.), where he identifies the four action phases of predecisional motivation, preactional volition, actional volition and postactional motivation. Furthermore, I also explain the relationship between and the definition of 'control' and 'power' both at a general level and in connection with migration-related studies.

I have, moreover, described how the concept of control often appears in relation to research on migration, space and place. Control is often viewed through the lens of the migration management of nation-states and international alliances and as a security concern for geographical areas and the people living there. I describe how borders are viewed in connection to control and migration. I claim that the Theory of Control Tuning provides a new perspective on this discussion. Instead of considering control as belonging to nation-states and international alliances, I demonstrate that control is a central issue among migration actors in their everyday life – an issue which requires *control tuning* on a continual basis in order to cope with, for example, spaces and places. The Theory of Control Tuning also approaches borders not just as physical lines but as mental boundaries related to various migration issues.

I also discuss other matters of importance when controlling migration, such as livelihood and economic opportunities. With reference to the work of Massey (1994; 1999), I include a discussion of time-space compression and power-geometry in migration. Moreover, I also refer to Relph (2017a, 2017b), who explains the power of place from two perspectives: intrinsic power and

ascribed political and economic power, and I demonstrate how the power of space and place are present in the Theory of Control Tuning.

Even though studies exist on the decision-making and choice behaviour of individuals and small groups, which contribute to our understanding of how to control migration at the micro level, these studies neither concentrate on the concept of control as such, nor produce control-related theories on migration. There seems to be a complete absence of migration theories that unite various migration actors and concentrate on control from the perspective of individuals and groups. The Theory of Control Tuning, as I explain, narrows this gap in the research by bringing a fresh perspective that combines control with migration, space and place.

9.3. Advancing research on space and place

In this dissertation, I have shown the significance of space and place in relation to control and *control tuning* in migration. Even though some scholars claim that space and place have lost their importance in today's globalised world, I clearly demonstrate their significance in the past, present and future life of migration actors. Consequently, I have introduced several concepts, including *place coping*, *spatial manoeuvring*, *dividing space* and *place sensing*, to the research on space and place. Moreover, I explain that in the Theory, space and place appear not only as physical attributes but also as factors born of experiences, meanings and actions. In addition, space and place are present through the movement, feelings, abilities and attitudes of migration actors.

I explain that in geography space has come to be generally accepted as something abstract or objective, while place is space plus an added subjective element: meaning, interpretation and experience. In addition to this, I also explain how the Theory of Control Tuning resonates with the space and place ideas of Relph (1976a, 2017a, 2017b), Soja (1989; 1996), Harvey (2006) and Tuan (1975; 1977). Even if the Theory of Control Tuning differs somewhat from their ideas in its conceptualisation of space and place, the common denominator is the way spatiality is explained as, first, something abstract or material, second, as something with experience and meaning, third, as something attached to processes and relations. I explain that it is possible to talk about a *space of control tuning*. I also relate space and place to migration

to the literature on transnationalism and transnational spaces. For this I use, for example, the work of Castells (2010) and Voigt-Grafts (2004) on the space of flows, which explains patterns of flows of people, information and products as nodes and the flows between them. Furthermore, I also explain calls to incorporate the concept of space more closely into transnationalism studies in order to avoid an overemphasis on the economic, political and cultural dimensions of transnationalism, such as transnational corporations, business networks or urban politics and social movements (Jackson et al. 2004: 1).

I respond to Jackson et al.'s (ibid: xi) idea of transnationalism as "a complex and multidimensional field – a social space that can be occupied by a wide range of actors, not all of whom are, themselves, directly connected to transnational migrant communities", and I challenge Portes' (1997a: 16) narrow definition of transnational communities as groups of people who are "at least bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require a simultaneous presence in both." Through the Theory of Control Tuning, I demonstrate that the concept of migration actors includes a wide variety of people directly in contact with migration. Migration actors are not only those people who have left their place of origin or another place to move elsewhere; rather, migration actors are also local residents and authorities, who do not necessarily move anywhere. The Theory of Control Tuning takes into account a wider group of actors than is usually the case in migration studies, which often focus solely on migrants or at most migrants and local residents or migrants and authorities. As Jackson et al. (2004: 13) state, migration research has rarely incorporated a more encompassing notion of transnationality that includes those who do not themselves migrate. Furthermore, few scholars consider authorities to be individuals and small groups; rather, authorities are commonly viewed in terms of structures. I challenge this in the Theory of Control Tuning.

I synthesise the Theory of Control Tuning with Faist's definition of transnational social space through the notion of various forms of capital (Faist 2000a). I demonstrate that human and social capital are indeed visible in the Theory when human capital is defined as including education, know-how and skills, and social capital when defined as mainly resources inherent in or transmitted through social and symbolic ties.

The Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates the presence of past, present and future time in space and place. This is apparent both in movement and while remaining in place. In addition, I explain that the Theory of Control Tuning is relevant irrespective of time, as the empirical data were brought to such a high level of conceptualisation. Nevertheless, the Theory of Control Tuning's inclusion of the aspect of time in relation to migration in spaces and places responds to Griffiths et al.'s (2013) complaint that little attention has been paid to temporalities in migration. Migration studies often assume there is an aspect of time involved, but this is not reflected in a social theory of time or even discussed per se. Furthermore, there is often a mismatch between theories of time and temporality and the empirical studies in the migration literature that include a time perspective. I have addressed this problem through showing how time occurs in the Theory.

In addition, I also explain that the Theory of Control Tuning supports the notion of time-space compression, as can be seen through the use of technology and modes of travelling. The Theory of Control Tuning also contributes to an understanding of the time aspect of migration by demonstrating the way control-tuning causes, conditions, strategies, intervening factors and outcomes may overlap and appear simultaneously or in sequence. Furthermore, the Theory introduces new ways of viewing the relationships between important issues and the actions of various migration actors in spaces and places. The Theory structures these connections in a way that contributes to a novel understanding of space and place in migration.

9.4. Implications for thinking on migration binaries

Binaries such as internal/international, agency/structure, micro/macro and forced/voluntary are often central to migration research. This has somewhat hampered theory formation, as researchers have struggled to theorise such extreme concepts with descriptive data and inadequate methodologies. The Theory of Control Tuning helps to correct this shortcoming. In addition to its ability to connect different sectors of migration research (e.g. research on culture, livelihood, movement, immobility, networks, diaspora, psychological aspects) under one theory, probably the greatest achievement of the Theory of Control Tuning is its ability to combine binaries representing various extremes

and whatever lies between them under one theoretical construct. The Theory of Control Tuning combines all these binaries under one theory in the following way. *Control tuning* is the main concern of various migration actors independent of the particular role of actions and institutions (agency/ structure), the particular perspective (micro/macro) or the particular type of migration (forced/voluntary, internal/international). They all form part of *control tuning*, and *control tuning* appears in relation to them all and to whatever may lie between them.

In relation to the agency/structure binary, I reflect on the different definitions of agency and structure and explore some approaches taken in migration research in the literature, such as those elucidated by Bakewell (2010) and de Haas (2011). In short, the Theory of Control Tuning views migration actors as individuals and groups with agency for processing control. Structures then provide some boundaries for their ability to act, thus influencing the need for migration actors to react and change their control-tuning strategy. Structures work as intervening factors that affect control-tuning outcomes. Moreover, structures are changed by migration actors' *control tuning*. Here, it should again be noted that authorities not only represent structures but are also individuals and groups who participate in *control tuning*. Local residents, who are also migration actors, are similarly influenced by and impact structures. Individuals, groups and structures interact with and impact each other. In addition to agency and structures, which are often seen as representing the micro and macro levels, I also demonstrate how the meso level is present through networks and the migration industry. Micro, meso and macro levels are all part of the actions and issues in the behavioural arena of migration.

The Theory of Control Tuning introduces *control tuning* as a common concern and a behavioural pattern for both forms of migration – internal and international – thus uniting them under one theory and making no distinction between them. The direction of migration can be rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural, or it can be within nation-states or between nation-states; whatever the case may be, *control tuning* always occurs. *Control tuning* is practised regardless of whether migration actors are mobile or staying in place. Moreover, irrespective of the length of migration, *control tuning* still occurs.

As King and Skeldon (2010: 1620) note, two almost separate bodies of literature exist on internal and international migration. Moreover, they are written from different conceptual, theoretical and methodological perspectives, with little dialogue between the two fields. Furthermore, international migration has attracted more attention than internal migration. As the Theory of Control Tuning combines international and internal migration under one theory, it treats them both equally. This is one of the Theory's main contributions to migration research. The Theory represents a way of combining international and internal migration that differs from the three approaches suggested by King and Skeldon (ibid): systems analysis, migrant integration (in relation to, for example, economic, social and political integration), and the migration-development nexus. Nevertheless, the Theory of Control Tuning can contribute to the current reformulation of system theory where emergence, causal mechanisms and the exercise of agency have become a focus (on this discussion see e.g. Bakewell 2014).

The Theory of Control Tuning does not distinguish between *control tuning* practised in forced or voluntary migration. By contrast, the Theory demonstrates that migration actors, irrespective of the forced or voluntary nature of their migration, share a common main concern and behaviour. As many studies of migration have observed, it is often difficult even to clearly determine what constitutes forced and voluntary migration, as migration movements and decisions often involve aspects of both. In practice, migration actors may differ over whether they consider their migration forced or voluntary: what is forced migration for one may be voluntary for another. Nevertheless, when a migration actor has clearly been forced into migration, as in the case of those trafficked and abducted, the Theory of Control Tuning makes an exception and defines them as part of forced migration. I continue by discussing the binary of forced/voluntary in relation to de Haas' ideas on movement and freedoms (de Haas 2011). Moreover, I discuss the Theory of Control Tuning in relation to the concept 'mixed migration'. The Theory demonstrates that there is a mix of motivations for moving that can change over time. I then reflect on the similar views of Van Hear and Castles (Van Hear et al. 2009) on 'mixed migration'. Nevertheless, Van Hear and Castles fail to consider local residents and authorities in connection to migration; thus, in this sense, the Theory of Control Tuning combines more actors within so-called mixed migration.

9.5. Adding to classic grounded theory research

The Theory of Control Tuning is based on classic grounded theory methodology and shows that while this methodology has seldom been used in geography or migration studies, it nevertheless provides a suitable way to develop a theory related to geographical and migration issues. In so doing, this dissertation also brings classic grounded theory methodology to the attention of geographers and those interested in migration, control, space and place. After publishing articles on *link keeping*, *encountering authority* and *knowledge dealing*, the audience will expand to include those interested in other related matters. The Theory of Control Tuning contributes to classic grounded theory methodology through promoting knowledge on theoretical codes of a causal family and an arena family as well as on how to use the methology in challenging fieldwork circumstances and when taking the new theory back to the data.

My study highlights the potential need to alter the procedure of doing grounded theory when working with demanding topics in a challenging setting. In grounded theory methodology, the recording of interviews is discouraged because the methodology does not require descriptive completeness and because recording impacts the delimiting effect of grounded theory and leads to a longer research process. As I was interviewing migrants who had experienced extremely traumatic events in their lives due to war, challenging migration movements, abuse and torture, poverty, living in harsh condition and other difficulties, it was necessary to be fully present in the interview situations. Thus, following the rule of only taking field notes was a worse option than recording the migrant interviews, as the interviewees considered writing notes suspicious and recording allowed me to maintain eye-contact at all times while listening to their personal narratives. This topic of cultural sensitivity has aroused particular discussion among researchers following Charmaz's approach to grounded theory (Charmaz 2014). However, as Dr Glaser has often emphasised in his seminars, it is acceptable to make minor modifications to the procedure due to the nature of one's own research. Thus, I consider it unproblematic that I recorded migrant interviews and later wrote them up as field notes. In addition, I have used grounded theory methodology in a somewhat experimental way. As explained in previous

chapters, this is evident in the way I have dealt with the comparison groups and how I have brought the Theory of Control Tuning back to its roots in the empirical data.

I place the Theory of Control Tuning among other grounded theories that cover the topics of control and space or place. I also describe other control-related theoretical codes, such as the mainline family, which explains social control in terms of keeping people in line. Through, among others, Dowling-Castronovo's (2015) study on the theory of regaining control and Gatin's (2013) theory of keeping your distance, I show that the Theory of Control Tuning overlaps with other grounded theories on issues such as losing control and using a variety of strategies to cope physically and emotionally. I also emphasise that other grounded theories also show that experience plays a significant role in connection to space and place.

There have been other migration-related grounded theories (classic or otherwise), one example being that of Dongxiao and Lykes (2006), which identifies a basic psychological process, reweaving a fragmented self. This need to identify one's self is also relevant to the Theory of Control Tuning, for instance in how migration actors *establish a new normal* and consider *re-rooting home*. However, classic grounded theory studies on migration are nevertheless few in number. Thus, the Theory of Control Tuning helps to fill this gap in the grounded theory literature.

9.6. Contributing to multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research

As I wrote at the beginning of the dissertation, multidisciplinarity is defined as involving knowledge of several fields and as an approach or method that includes several disciplines. Interdisciplinarity, on the other hand, can be understood as referring to two or more disciplines contributing to one activity, such as a field of study or a research project, and thinking across boundaries to create something new. Migration studies is itself an interdisciplinary field that is rooted in several disciplines, including geography, sociology, anthropology, economics and history. In migration studies, researchers and students study the topics of migration through their social, cultural, economic, environmental and political dimensions.

The inspiration and loose philosophical framework for my study comes from humanistic geography, phenomenology and hermeneutics – which all have been influenced by several disciplines in the humanities, social sciences and philosophy. The Theory of Control Tuning shows how the processing of control occurs in various spheres of life. Many similar issues have been researched in migration studies but as separate topics and within different disciplines. By contrast, The Theory of Control Tuning succeeds in connecting these issues under one theory and can therefore be considered an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary theory. In addition, the Theory of Control Tuning is relevant to theories and conceptualisations from several fields in the social sciences (including human geography), the humanities, management, politics, health sciences and psychology. For example, the Theory of Control Tuning deals with control, which is normally defined through psychology. In turn, the concepts of space and place are strongly part of geography and are also important in philosophy and planning. Moreover, control-tuning strategies can be seen as part of management and migration management is part of politics and geopolitics, whereas mental and physical health issues are part of health sciences. The Theory of Control Tuning combines these (and other aspects) under one theory in a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary way. In addition, grounded theory methodology, which is used in various disciplines in order to develop a theory, brings another layer of multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity (or what some grounded theorists prefer to call transdisciplinarity) to this research. The Theory of Control Tuning can be further developed by following classic grounded theory methodology and by bringing in new data in relation to migration or any other field. Thus, researchers of any disciplinary perspective can develop the Theory further.

9.7. Strengthening knowledge on demanding data collection and fieldwork

For this study, I conducted multi-sited fieldwork where data collection at times occurred in dangerous and very demanding circumstances. Not only did I use interview and participant observation techniques but I also took advantage of everyday opportunities to discuss migration with people. I interviewed

informants, including migrants (of different statuses), local residents and a variety of authorities, in distinct places such as internal displacement and refugee camps/settlements, towns and cities, border and rural areas. I used participant observation to understand better the use of space, the meaning of a place and the social relationships and issues of those significant to the research. This method also helped me gain an understanding of the particular sites and places where *control tuning* in migration occurred. I worked with issues that were both physically and mentally demanding for the informants, interpreters and myself, and which often required skilful ways of obtaining information on people's experiences and hidden agendas.

In addition to explaining the practicalities of performing this type of data collection and fieldwork, the study also highlights some of the challenges that researchers face in relation to demanding and sensitive topics and working with traumatised people and in difficult environments. The study demonstrates that when conducting sensitive research it is extremely important to take account of different ethical issues. Thus, this study contributes to knowledge on working in difficult circumstances with demanding topics. Moreover, it also demonstrates the considerations necessary before embarking on fieldwork, while being in the field and after the researcher has returned home. Thus, this study may help others considering migration (or other sensitive) research to understand the kind of issues involved.

10. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I describe the study's success in achieving its four research aims. I also present the study's hypothesis, which, in a grounded theory study, is possible to introduce after the new theory has been generated. The practical limitations of this study are also explained and reflections presented on personal learning and ideas for future research. In addition, I make some practical and policy recommendations.

10.1. Achievement of research aims

The study's first research aim was to understand *the common main concern of various actors in migration, regardless of its type, nature and geographical area, and how that concern is resolved on continuous basis*. This study revealed that the main concern for various migration actors, regardless of the type, nature or geographical area of movements and residence, is the processing of control. Control is then continuously resolved by *control tuning*. In turn, *control tuning* is practised through particular control-tuning paths, which contain the control-tuning causes, which in the presence of a negative condition are dealt with by control-tuning strategies. These control-tuning strategies, and also the control-tuning paths themselves, are influenced by intervening factors that include basic factors, varying factors and control-supportive instruments. The end results of *control tuning* are control-tuning outcomes. If a migration actor is satisfied with a control-tuning outcome, s/he has no need to adopt the same or different control-tuning strategies; thus the control-tuning path ends. By contrast, if migration actors are dissatisfied with the control situation, the control-tuning paths continue and the same or other control-tuning strategies are adopted in order to achieve the desired control-tuning outcome. These control-tuning paths appear in a particular behavioural arena of migration, which is constructed from aspects of *link keeping*, *encountering authority*, *knowledge dealing* and *place coping*. They all have particular characters that are linked to migration. In connection to *place coping*, issues like *multi routing*, *place sensing*, *spatial manoeuvring*, *establishing a new normal*, *re-rooting home* and *problem confronting* occur. Consequently, it can be concluded that the first aim of the study has been met.

The second aim was *to close the gap between empirical data and theory by generating a new middle-range migration theory*. Using classic grounded theory methodology, primary data – based on qualitative interviews, participant observation and discussions – and secondary data were developed into a theory that can be considered a general substantive theory. This type of theory lies in-between substantive and formal theories. Thus, the Theory of Control Tuning is above the level of the descriptive studies common in qualitative research but lower than that of a grand theory. As such, the Theory can be categorised as a middle-range theory. Due to the close connection

between data and theory in a classic grounded theory, the Theory of Control Tuning avoids the gap between empirical data and theory that other research often creates by adopting an extant theory that is not directly built from a particular set of data. Hence, the second aim of this study has also been achieved.

The third aim of this study was *to advance research in the field of migration, geography, social sciences and grounded theory methodology and in any other discipline relevant to the new theory*. The Theory of Control Tuning provides several disciplines with a new way of looking at migration and control. The control-tuning paths, with their causes, strategies, intervening factors and outcomes, add to our psychological, geographical and social understanding of how control can be modified. Control-tuning paths demonstrate why *control tuning* occurs, how strategies are used in modifying control, and what kind of factors influence control and the related behaviour of *control tuning*. Moreover, control-tuning paths also show the resultant control-tuning outcomes. In addition, the Theory introduces a new way of structuring the modification of control in the particular behavioural arena of migration. Thus, the study suggests one way of viewing the relationship between a variety of migration-related issues, as the study has developed new concepts that explain the relationship of different issues, events, situations, actors and objects found in relation to migration movements and staying in place. Moreover, in the context of *place coping*, the study explains how space and place occur in relation to control in migration. Furthermore, it demonstrates how migration binaries can be incorporated into one theory. Hence, the binaries of forced/voluntary, micro/macro, agency/structure, and internal/international are dealt with under one theoretical umbrella. This dissertation contributes to grounded theory research by presenting a study of geography and migration, which especially in the classic version of the methodology is a rare combination. Moreover, I introduce a way to view control-related processes through the lens of space and place. In addition, I have also tackled the challenges of using grounded theory methodology in relation to the demanding and challenging issue of migration. My multi-sited fieldwork in difficult circumstances highlights the practical concerns of performing data collection and analysis in problematic situations that require modifications to the classic grounded theory methodology. The third aim has thus been achieved, although the impact of the Theory of Control Tuning on

different disciplines and fields of study will only become clear with the passage of time.

The fourth aim of the study was *to explore the possibilities for multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity in the above-mentioned disciplines through a genuinely multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary grounded theory*. I have pursued this aim by studying migration, which is, per se, a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary field covering many areas of life studied in a number of disciplines. Moreover, I have used classic grounded theory methodology, which was developed under the influence of several fields, including mathematics and sociology. Furthermore, the methodology has been particularly popular in disciplines such as nursing, medicine, business and management studies, while having a global influence on a great number of other disciplines. Grounded theory studies are by nature multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary. This is obvious, for instance, in the placement of the new theory in the academic debate. The Theory of Control Tuning is a result of using data from several sources. It addresses issues that can be termed, for instance, geographical, sociological, psychological, political and anthropological. Moreover, such issues are related to health, livelihood, culture, network, agency, structure, bureaucracy, emotion, security, employment and education – to mention but a few areas to which the Theory of Control Tuning is connected. The Theory of Control Tuning demonstrates how these issues, events, situations, people and objects interact and are interlinked and interdependent. In the comparative literature review, some of the aspects of the Theory of Control Tuning, such as those concerning control, space and place, as well as migration binaries, are introduced through various disciplines and are shown to be interrelated. Thus, I believe the fourth aim has also been successfully achieved. Nevertheless, similar to the third aim, also the success of the fourth aim will only become apparent with the passing of time, after which it will be possible to see how the Theory of Control Tuning contributes to the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary nature of research through the work of others who accept or challenge the Theory.

10.2. Hypothesis of the study

As a grounded theory study, this study began with an area of interest rather than a ready hypothesis based on the literature or any other presumption. Data collection was performed simultaneous to grounded theory analysis. By following the classic grounded theory process, with some minor modifications, the Theory of Control Tuning then emerged from the data. The Theory as a whole and its concept of *place coping* was then situated within the academic discussion on control, space and place, and migration binaries. In future publications, the Theory of Control Tuning will be synthesised with the extant literature related to *link keeping*, *encountering authority* and *knowledge dealing*. The Theory of Control Tuning concludes with the following hypothesis:

> The main concern of migration actors is the processing of control, which they resolve on a continuous basis by control tuning in the behavioural arena of migration, regardless of the nature, type, length, geographical area, actors, time, level and life sphere of that migration.

10.3. Limitations

As with all research, this study too has its limitations. These limitations concern practical matters such as using a particular methodology, faculty instructions on the length of the dissertation and the particular research area. Thus, I will now turn to a discussion of the methodological limitations, limitations of scope and practical limitations of the study.

The study has three main methodological limitations. First, the objective of this study was to develop a grounded theory through conceptualisation. The purpose was neither to produce an exhaustive and precise description nor a statistical validation of migration. Rather, the aim was to understand what was occurring in migration through discovering the main concern among migration actors and reveal how they resolve their concern. This then led to the discovery that the main concern of migration actors was the processing of control and that this was achieved through the latent behavioural pattern of *control tuning*. As *control tuning* is explained at a conceptual level, there was no need to go into descriptive details, though to assist the reader in

understanding the new theory, some examples of empirical data and descriptive narratives were introduced. Second, the objective of this study did not include the verification of extant theories, concepts or data. Hence, while I indicated the place of the Theory of Control Tuning and this study in relation to the literature through the comparative literature review, I did not seek to verify existing research. The Theory presents grounded suggestions for conceptualising migration and the various possible relationships between these concepts. Third, the Theory of Control Tuning is not a unit-oriented theory; rather, it is process-oriented. It does not explain a particular group of people based on, for example, their nationality, ethnicity, religion or age, nor does it explain a particular place. Furthermore, it does not relate to a particular time.

The practical limitations of the study are related to collecting data and faculty rules on dissertation length. These defined the scope and use of the literature in relation to this dissertation. To fulfil the aims of this study, I conducted multi-sited fieldwork in four countries and several regions. As I performed the data collection during an extremely interesting and unique period of South Sudanese migration and during South Sudan's endeavour to become a new, independent State, I also wanted to collect data for more descriptive future research. As this type of multi-sited research covering four countries in two continents is extremely expensive and time-consuming, and possibly a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, I decided to collect more data than were needed for the grounded theory study. This affected the study in two ways. First, it probably prolonged the study. Second, the data included questions that were not central to the grounded study. However, the collection of data for other types of research also strengthened the grounded theory study itself and positively contributed to the Theory of Control Tuning by adding to the knowledge of the phenomenon of migration.

A further limitation of this dissertation is that I only explore in detail the sub-core category of *place coping*, whereas the three other sub-core categories of the Theory – *link keeping*, *encountering authority* and *knowledge dealing* – are simply given a cursory introduction. These parts of the Theory of Control Tuning will be explained in depth in future publications. However, this dissertation functions as an excellent framework for those publications, as it has allowed me to demonstrate in more detail how the sub-core category of *place coping* occurs in the Theory and how the Theory relates to the literature

on, for example, control and migration binaries, which are central to both the dissertation and future publications. I elaborate more on the possibilities for future research in section 10.5., but here I wish to highlight some important ideas that were omitted from the dissertation due to length limitations. They are culture-related theories, theories on return migration as well as the literature on 'home'. In addition migration models with economic perspectives were not dealt with in this dissertation.

Due to length restrictions it was impossible to offer an in-depth analysis of cultural theories and theories related to assimilation, integration and segregation. Such theories have long been disputed in migration studies, as they are strongly tied to particular eras of research. For instance, the idea that society is a 'melting pot' or that migrants should 'assimilate' into new societies by fully conforming to the rules and norms of local residents and authorities has received much criticism. In addition, especially in the North American literature, affirmative action has also been discussed in relation to migration. A discussion of cultural theories is particularly relevant to the category of *establishing a new normal*, where *cultural customising*, *being surrounded by the unfamiliar* and *family-role adjusting* are discussed. Thus, in *cultural customising* issues like cultural products, traditions and related behaviour, interaction between men and women, and changes in personal development could have been examined through extant cultural theories. In relation to *being surrounded by the unfamiliar*, topics related to the physical environment in new spaces and places, interaction between migrants, local residents and authorities, and how changing surroundings affect people could also have been explored. For *family-role adjusting*, adult and child relationships and gender roles could have been at the centre of a synthesis of existing theories. In relation to gender roles and interaction between men and women and boys and girls, theories from gender studies and feminism could also have been examined.

Due to length limitations, I was also unable to examine two other important areas of the migration studies literature: research on return and home, which is especially relevant when discussing the category of *re-rooting home* in *place coping*. Thus the dissertation could have explored research perspectives on spontaneous and organised return, waiting to see how situations develop, ideas on what would have happened if the circumstances had been different, the psychological challenges and practical conditions of return and 'home' and

relationships between migrants and family living in different places. In relation to space and place, I have had to leave out the discussion on 'being in place' and 'being out of place'. Furthermore, I was unable to incorporate in-depth the concept of a 'sense of place' into the comparative literature review.

10.4. Reflections on personal learning

I am a very practical person, so when I decided to develop a new migration theory, I also put my own skills to the test and challenged the way I saw the world. As one of my greatest strengths is obtaining data on demanding issues in challenging circumstances, I wished to begin my study by collecting data in the field rather than sitting in an office reading what others had written about migration. As previously mentioned, I had used the Strauss and Corbin version of grounded theory methodology in my Master's thesis, so I knew something about classic grounded theory methodology. However, I had no classic grounded theory community around me, and during the first years of my study I knew no other people who were using the methodology. Thus, when I began my classic grounded theory research, I was very much a novice. Luckily, I found the Grounded Theory Institute and was able to participate in Dr Glaser's grounded theory seminars in Mill Valley and New York, as well as those organised by the Grounded Theory Institute fellows in Malmö and Oxford where Dr Glaser participated through Skype. This made all the difference and really opened my eyes to the true purpose of the methodology and how it should be used. As a novice, I initially made similar mistakes often found in the work of my grounded theory colleagues elsewhere, and it was only through trial and error that I found the correct way to develop the Theory of Control Tuning. Grounded theory can only be learnt by doing. I had no idea that I would spend many years studying how control is modified in migration, but that is where the methodology (and data) took me. Moreover, to my delight, my occasional slight scepticism towards the methodology was always proved wrong by Dr Glaser's books and the advice I received from him and other experts in grounded theory. There were times when I was confused and I had no idea what to do next, but going back to Dr Glaser's books and the research of other grounded theorists led me back to the right track and showed me that the grounded theory process is indeed extremely rational but something that

one can only understand better when doing it. By using classic grounded theory methodology, it is really possible to derive a new theory from the data. As in all research, classic grounded theory also has its sceptics and critics. In the case of classic grounded theory they claim that there is no proper process to follow, the concepts are simply invented and that grounded theory methodology can be followed only partially. To them, I say that if one follows the methodology in full, tolerates the confusion and regression, remains open during the process and trusts in preconscious processing, a theory will arise that has fit, relevance, workability, modifiability and grab. This dissertation is only the beginning of my learning journey in classic grounded theory methodology. To become proficient requires the development of more grounded theories.

In the course of this dissertation, my knowledge and skills also increased in relation to migration issues, even though I had been connected with the phenomenon since the 1980s. In particular, the study enhanced my knowledge of asylum seeking and refugees. Moreover, my knowledge of the circumstances where migration actors work and function became more firm due to my fieldwork. I was lucky to meet many interesting and incredible people who inspired my thinking. In addition to seeing the horrors a conflict can bring about in people, I have also seen the strength and attitude of caring it has created. Especially South Sudanese people have taught me a lot. Furthermore, I am happy to have been in a position to contribute, in small ways, to the knowledge and lives of others. I have also been able to teach and mentor students, researchers, authorities and others about the varied nature of migration, which has also enhanced my own learning. In addition to increasing my understanding and knowledge of classic grounded theory and migration issues, I have also come to learn about the differences and similarities between universities and their policies. At the end of my doctoral process, it became clear to me how academic education and attitudes towards academic knowledge have become deeply influenced by 'alternative facts' and cuts in research funding. I have also learned about the position in the university of a graduate student, expert on migration and non-research-group member of the community. Nevertheless, for part of this study I have been fortunate to work in a genuinely multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary community that also promoted my own learning on disciplines and issues outside my area of expertise.

10.5. Future research

In this section, I present some ideas for future research. These suggestions can be explored through individual disciplines but also, and more preferably, as transdisciplinary studies. These suggestions will further understanding of *control tuning* both in relation to migration and also on a broader social scale. As this dissertation has only dealt with the Theory's sub-core category of *place coping*, the suggestions for further research either concern *place coping*-related research or the Theory of Control Tuning in general. However, I will first discuss how I will research the three sub-core categories not included in this dissertation.

A more in-depth explanation of the Theory of Control Tuning in connection to its sub-core categories of *link keeping*, *encountering authority* and *knowledge dealing* will be presented in future publications. These three sub-core categories will be synthesised with the extant literature on at least the following issues and topics:

1. *Control tuning* in relation to *link keeping*: networks, diaspora and formation of relationships, exclusion, discrimination and racism, use of social media and technology, and preference-related ideas.
2. *Control tuning* in relation to *encountering authority*: definitions and roles of structures, humanitarian and bureaucratic aid, power relations, psychological and physical torture and ways of using abuse, discussion of who is an enemy and a friend, corruption, and stress and depression.
3. *Control tuning* in relation to *knowledge dealing*: the nature of information and how to gain information and knowledge, inequality in societies, decision-making processes, sense of place, networks and relationships with others and self development-related issues.

As is generally true of grounded theories, the Theory of Control Tuning can also be modified by anyone who introduces new incidents from a particular substantive area of interest, either from migration or from any other field. Future research related to the Theory of Control Tuning should follow classic grounded theory procedures to guarantee the modifiability of the Theory. Hence, constant comparison, which refers to systematic and explicit coding

and analytical procedures, should be used when there is interest in developing the Theory further. I now suggest further research possibilities that can contribute to the development of the Theory of Control Tuning.

The ideas that I now turn to relate to future research in connection with the sub-core category of *place coping* and its categories. First, *multi routing*, which in this dissertation has included explanations of *exiting* and *document solutioning*, can be further explored in different ways. Migration movement data can be introduced to determine whether physical movements have additional relevance to this category. Moreover, the aspect of entering spaces, places and situations can be further examined. Second, for *place sensing* notions and theories on memories, feelings and freedom could be incorporated into this concept. In addition, the traditional geographical concept of a 'sense of place' can be explored here in both its meanings: as a place having a sense per se, and as people attaching a sense to a place. Furthermore, a much-researched issue in migration is that of 'home', which could be connected more closely to the notion of *emotional ride*. Here too, identity research may have something to add to the concept of *place sensing*. Third, *spatial maneouvring*, which is a powerful concept, can be further explored with incidents from migration or different substantive areas. Future research can examine whether there are any further properties that could be included in addition to *place picking*, *operating funds*, *keeping safe* and *dividing space*. Here, a closer view on the relationships of authorities, migrants and local residents is also warranted. Fourth, *establishing a new normal*, which explains the way new environments and cultures encircle actors in migration, offers possibilities for future research. As it explains migration actors' need to adapt to different family, gender and generation roles, interaction with others, and the physical and mental environments in diverse spaces and places, the introduction of new incidents and concepts concerning culture, gender, generational roles and family types could develop this part of the Theory. Cultural theories and gender theories are manifold. However, it would be interesting to see how the highly debated theories of assimilation, integration and segregation fit into *establishing a new normal*. Also, the role of diaspora may bring something interesting to the Theory. In addition, the concepts of cultural capital and culture shock can possible take the Theory further. Fifth, the concept of *re-rooting home* may benefit from new data and theories on return migration as well the role of those who do not migrate but stay behind. Here, the

relationships between authorities, migrants and local residents can be further explored. Further exploration of the psychological pressure to stay or return may provide an interesting perspective on *re-rooting home*. In addition, speculation on 'what would have happened' if situations and history had been different is an unexplored aspect in migration research that would make an interesting future research and could possibly strengthen the Theory. Sixth, the notion of *problem confronting* can be advanced by introducing more theories and concepts from livelihood and health studies. One important aspect of *problem confronting* includes the contradiction between what is said, felt and acted upon. In addition to the overall perspective of *place coping*, it would be interesting to investigate *problem confronting* through the literature and data on 'being in place' and 'being out of place'.

Finally, future research should involve developing the general substantive grounded theory presented in this dissertation into a formal theory that works at a higher level. A formal theory would demonstrate how the main concern that is continuously resolved by a particular group of people is actually relevant to a greater variety of actors and situations than those in the particular substantive area from where the Theory originally rose. It is both my own opinion and that of Dr Glaser (personal communication 10.10.2017) that *control tuning* would make an interesting formal theory. Hence, in future research I will study how *control tuning* appears in a wider range of events, situations and feelings than those related to migration actors. In order to do this, I will define other substantive areas to investigate. In this way, the Theory of Control Tuning can develop into a general theory involving different social spheres.

10.6. Practical and policy recommendations

The study leads me to propose several practical and policy recommendations. They concern different individuals and groups of migrants, local residents and authorities, state and intergovernmental actors, non-governmental and root-level organisations, spatial planning and building authorities, and universities, research institutes, ethical committees, students and researchers. The recommendations are as follows:

A) Recommendations for universities, research institutes, ethical committees, students and researchers in relation to working with demanding issues and in challenging environments

Background: In today's world an increasing number of researchers and students are working in physical and mental research environments involving conflicts, environmental disasters, violence and other demanding issues. Researcher trauma refers to the mental and physical symptoms that are caused by researchers and students working with traumatising topics, in traumatic and stressful environments and situations and among traumatised people. As researchers and students, we are taught to take into consideration the effect of our research on those we are researching and the communities where we conduct the research; however, we are seldom asked to consider the effect of the research on us as researchers. The requirements of ethical and dissertation committees vary between countries, as do the support networks for those working in difficult environments and with demanding topics. In addition, when researchers require health-related support, often the support they are entitled to depends on whether they are working on a grant or as a university employee. Moreover, universities offer different possibilities and expertise in relation to mental and physical health support for researchers and students. If the following recommendations are implemented, it will be possible to guarantee a better and healthier working environment for researchers and students conducting demanding research among traumatised people, in traumatic environments and with mentally and physically demanding research issues.

1. Universities should better take into account researchers and students who conduct research in relation to challenging topics, in mentally and physically difficult environments and among traumatised people.
2. Teaching on health and security issues related to fieldwork and working with challenging issues should be available to students and researchers.
3. The literature on conducting fieldwork and its related challenges (such as security and health) should be included early on in degree programmes.
4. When needed, mentoring should be available from those with first-hand experience of working with challenging circumstances and topics.

5. Guidelines and permanent structures should be constructed in connection to knowing where and when a researcher is conducting demanding research and how s/he is coping.
6. Health care and other kinds of assistance should be easily available to researchers and students, not only while working in challenging environments and with demanding issues but also before and after the particular research.
7. Health care and other assistance should not be tied to the type of funding (salary, grant, no funding) the researcher or student receives.
8. In countries where ethical approval in social and human sciences (that is other than medical-related research) is non-compulsory, there should be a structured discussion on how to provide the necessary support for researchers and students to guarantee that the full range of ethical issues are accounted for in their research plans and practical research.
9. Ethical committees should include members with first-hand experience of working with challenging issues and environments.
10. A more general discussion on researcher trauma and related-research should be promoted both in academia and wider spheres, for example among health professionals.

I would also recommend that those working with migration issues, especially with migration induced by conflict or environmental disaster, take into consideration perspectives related to their own wellbeing and that of their informants and the informants' community:

1. As many community members and informants may have experienced trauma and loss of family members and/or other significant people, home and belongings, and are living in difficult circumstances, it is important to consider how these people can be supported during and, when necessary, after a research project.
2. Even before beginning research, it is extremely important to consider how it will affect oneself as a researcher, how health, security and other challenges can be handled, and what personal and academic support networks are available prior to, during and after the research.

B) Recommendations to state and inter-governmental actors

1. When developing policies in relation to different groups of migrants, better recognition should be given to migrants' need for control during migration, both while on the move and while staying in a particular place. State and inter-governmental actors should better involve migrants in the development of policies concerning migrants and their everyday life.
2. State and inter-governmental actors should respect human rights at all times. Instead of conflict, peaceful interaction between migration actors should be promoted.

C) Recommendations to non-governmental and other grassroots-level organisations

1. As became clear in the course of this study, such organisations often have the most impact on migrants' everyday life during migration. To help migrants control different aspects of their life, non-governmental and other grassroots organisations should offer assistance to migrants on a variety of issues.
2. Particular emphasis should be given to assisting vulnerable individuals and groups, such as child soldiers, abducted children and youth, trafficked persons and single parents.
3. Non-governmental and other grassroots organisations play a central role in promoting interaction between different migration actors; thus they should contribute to a more open dialogue in society.

D) Recommendations to spatial planning and building authorities

1. Space and place are central issues in migration. To ensure the effective and safe use of space for all, different migration actors should be encouraged to interact and participate in discussions on space and place in different phases and places of migration.
2. These discussions and the interaction and everyday experiences of migration actors should then be taken into consideration when planning and building private and public spaces.

3. Relocations due to development projects or other factors should not include an aspect of force. Sufficient prior warning of relocation should be given to those living in and using the spaces and places concerned.

E) Recommendations to migrants and local residents

1. Individuals and communities should strive to promote more peaceful, safe and respectful interaction between all migration actors.
2. Opportunities should be sought for learning about human rights, migration situations and experiences, and local circumstances. Conflict resolution and dialogue at the micro, meso and macro levels should be promoted in order to guarantee a peaceful environment for all.

10.7. Concluding remarks

Many migration researchers believe it is impossible to develop an 'all-inclusive' theory of migration – a theory that would take everything into account. This may be so, but I feel such an attitude creates boundaries to our thinking. In order for interesting and important theories to arise, researchers should aim to develop new concepts and theoretical frameworks at different levels. We should not limit ourselves; rather, we should be ambitious in our attempts to find new ways of thinking about migration. There is more to discover, both in terms of empirical data and theories. We often become stuck researching similar issues to those of our predecessors. In connection to theories, we are often discouraged from adopting new perspectives either by existing academic structures or by our own fear of failure or of overreaching ourselves. More scholars should attempt to find their own paths and produce novel research instead of following others and building on extant data and theories. Of course, there is also a place for following other scholars and developing existing theories. However, I believe that creativity is greater and the results are more impressive if new perspectives are sought through theories built directly on empirical data. Let us not be dissuaded from pursuing our research goals just because others have failed before us; rather, let us make the attempt and see if it results in something new – as it very well may do.

EPILOGUE

This morning I took my son for a hair-cut. While I was waiting for him, I began talking to a total stranger, a man who was also visiting the barber shop. We discussed family, children's schools, kindergarten and other things. At some point, we realised that we had, at different times, lived in the exact same flat in the same area where the barber shop was located. That flat had been my family's home for many years. It was from there that I embarked on my most important personal migration in the 1980s, and it was the place where we hosted many migrants who visited us for shorter or longer periods. That flat was the starting point for my personal *control tuning* in connection to migration, which has continued to this day. For the man, the same flat was the place where he and his family began their life in Finland after returning from abroad, and it became their home when they were *re-rooting home*. As a migration researcher fascinated by spaces and places, it is these unexpected encounters that give incremental meaning to life. These encounters strengthen my view that spaces, places and migration matter. They are part of our lives at many levels and through many issues and events.

Global migration continues apace, as we can read in newspapers and social media and see on the TV news. Moreover, we can experience it first hand while walking on the streets in our daily lives. Migration has clearly been occurring for a long time and will continue long into the future. Migration has become an almost daily issue, even in the furthest flung corners of our nation-states, and it also affects the lives of those who have never themselves been migrants. The prevention of migration is a topic that has long been discussed, and that discussion seems eternal. There will always be supporters of migration and those who resist it, and those who attempt to cope with migration, as they are personally very much a part of it.

My dissertation is now complete and I can now turn to other opportunities. Now it is the task of others to consider how they view and use the Theory of Control Tuning. I look forward with great interest to seeing if the Theory shows its strength in both academia and practice.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1. Interview field notes.

R= refugee/asylum seeker/resettled refugee/economic migrant/education-induced migrant; IDP=internally displaced person; A=authority; L=local resident

FINLAND: Altogether 22 interviews, 24 interviewees

1.	FN FIN R 280405/1	resettled refugee, male
2.	FN FIN R 290405/3	resettled refugee, female
3.	FN FIN R 290405/4	resettled refugee, male
4.	FN FIN R 020505/2	resettled refugee, female
5.	FN FIN A 060505/1	authority (senior secondary teacher), female
6.	FN FIN A 130505/4	authority (immigration office representative), male
7.	FN FIN R 080605/1	resettled refugee, male
8.	FN FIN R 080605/2	resettled refugee, male
9.	FN FIN R 080605/3	resettled refugee, female
10.	FN FIN R 110605/2	resettled refugee, male
11.	FN FIN A 150605/1	authority (health services representative), female
12.	FN FIN A 150605/2	authority (immigration services representative), male
13.	FN FIN R 210605/1	resettled refugee, female
14.	FN FIN R 210605/2	resettled refugee + resettled refugee, male + male
15.	FN FIN R 210605/3	resettled refugee + resettled refugee, female + female
16.	FN FIN R 300705/1	resettled refugee, male
17.	FN FIN R 010805/1	resettled refugee, male
18.	FN FIN R 010805/2	resettled refugee, male
19.	FN FIN R 010805/3	resettled refugee, female
20.	FN FIN R 020805/1	resettled refugee, male
21.	FN FIN R 030805/1	resettled refugee, female
22.	FN FIN L 080805/1	local resident, female

EGYPT: Altogether 21 interviews, 22 interviewees

1.	FN EGY R 300905/1	refugee, male
2.	FN EGY R 300905/2	refugee, female
3.	FN EGY R 300905/3	refugee, female
4.	FN EGY R 300905/4	refugee, female
5.	FN EGY R 300905/5	refugee, male
6.	FN EGY R 021005/1	refugee, male
7.	FN EGY A 031005/1	authority (church priest), male
8.	FN EGY R 041005/3	refugee, female
9.	FN EGY R 041005/5	refugee, female
10.	FN EGY R 121005/3	refugee, male

11.	FN EGY R 121005/5	refugee, male
12.	FN EGY R 141005/1	refugee, male
13.	FN EGY A 141005/2	authority (NGO representative), male
14.	FN EGY R 151005/2	refugee, male
15.	FN EGY A 171005/1	authority (international organisation representative), male
16.	FN EGY A 191005/1	authority (NGO representative), female
17.	FN EGY R 211005/2	refugee, male
18.	FN EGY R 261005/1	refugee, female
19.	FN EGY R 311006/1	refugee, male
20.	FN EGY R 310106/2	refugee, female
21.	FN EGY R 310106/3	refugee + refugee, female + female

SUDAN: Altogether 23 interviews, 38 interviewees

1.	FN SUD A 121105/1	authority (NGO representative), female
2.	FN SUD A 131105/1	authority (international organisation representative), female
3.	FN SUD A 131105/2	authority (state representative), male
4.	FN SUD IDP 141105/1	IDP, female
5.	FN SUD IDP 141105/2	IDP, female
6.	FN SUD IDP 141105/3	IDP, female
7.	FN SUD IDP 141105/4	IDP, female
8.	FN SUD IDP 151105/1	IDP, female
9.	FN SUD IDP 151105/2	IDP/authority (mother of a foster family), female
10.	FN SUD A 151105/3	authority (NGO representative) x 4, male x 4
11.	FN SUD A 151105/4	authority (state representative), male
12.	FN SUD IDP 151105/5	IDP, female
13.	FN SUD A 151105/6	authority (NGO representatives) x 7, male x 3 + female x 4
14.	FN SUD IDP 161105/1	IDP, male
15.	FN SUD A 171105/1	authority (international NGO representative), male
16.	FN SUD L 181105/1	local resident x 3, male x 2 + female x 1
17.	FN SUD A 191105/1	authority (village chief in an IDP camp), male
18.	FN SUD A 191105/2	authority (village chief in an IDP camp), male
19.	FN SUD L 191105/3	local resident, male
20.	FN SUD A 201105/1	authority (international organisation representative), female
21.	FN SUD A 201105/2	authority (international organisation representative), male
22.	FN SUD A 201105/3	authority (NGO representative) x 5, male x 3 + female x 2
23.	FN SUD IDP 221105/1	IDP, female

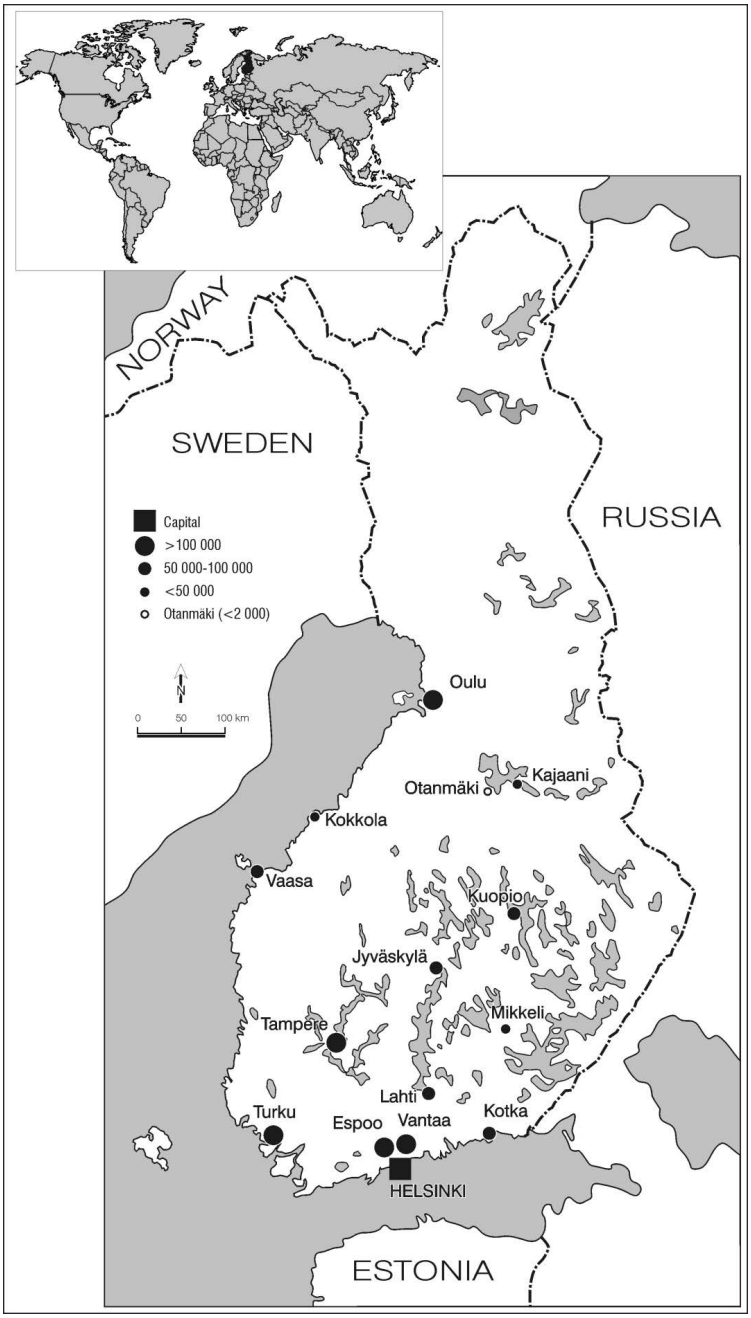
UGANDA: Altogether 17 interviews, 26 interviewees

1.	FN UGA A 191205/1	authority (NGO/university representative), male
2.	FN UGA R 071205/1	refugee, female
3.	FN UGA R 071205/2	refugee, female
4.	FN UGA R 071205/3	refugee, female
5.	FN UGA R 071205/5	refugee, male
6.	FN UGA R 071205/6	refugee, male

7.	FN UGA R 081205/1	refugee, male
8.	FN UGA R 081205/2	refugee, male
9.	FN UGA A 161205/4	authority (NGO representative), male
10.	FN UGA R 050106/4	refugee, male
11.	FN UGA R 050106/5	refugee, female
12.	FN UGA R 070106/5	refugee, female
13.	FN UGA R 080106/1	refugee, female
14.	FN UGA R 080106/2	refugee, female
15.	FN UGA A 090106/3	authority (state representative), male
16.	FN UGA R 100106/1	refugee x 10, male x 6 + female x 4
17.	FN UGA A 100106/2	authority (state representative), male

Appendix 2. The fieldwork area in 2005–2006.

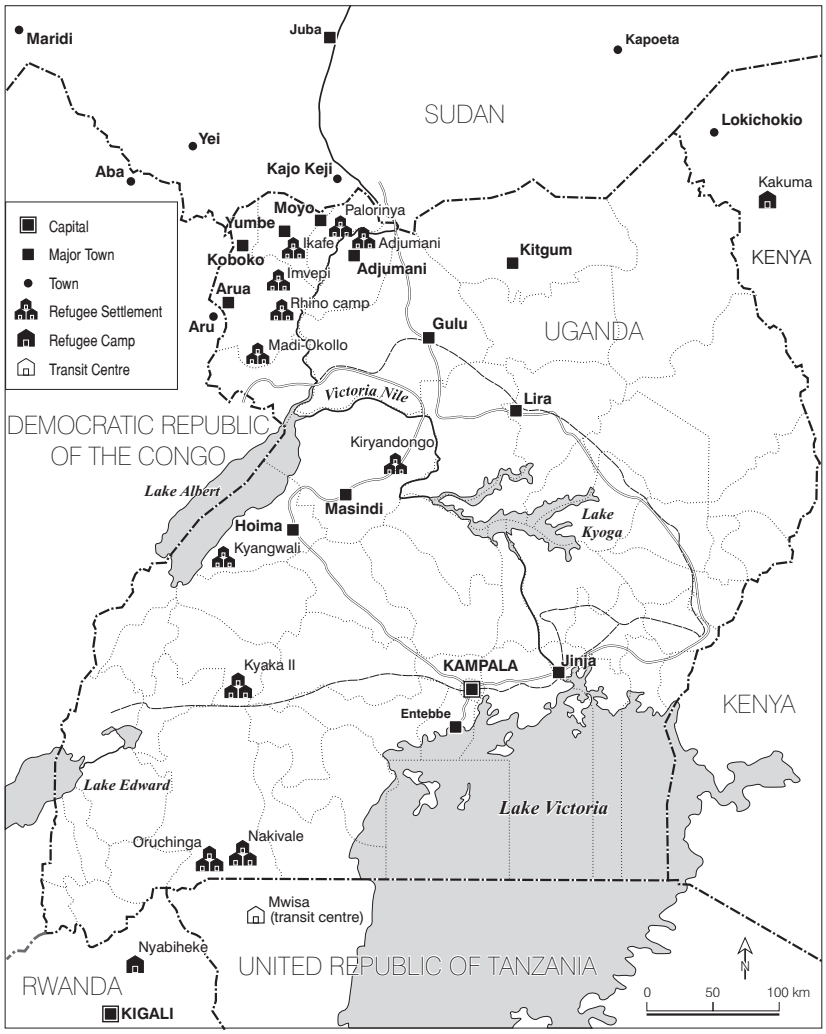
Appendix 3. Finland at the time of the fieldwork (2005–2006).



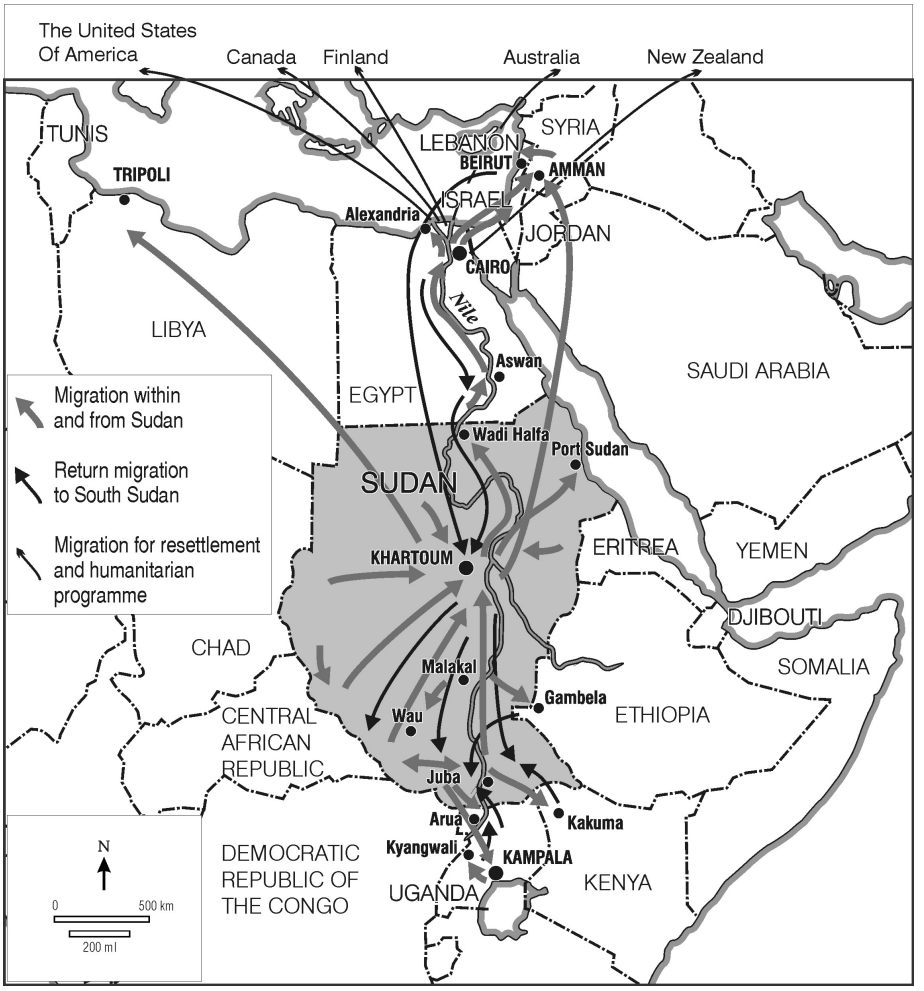
Appendix 4. Egypt at the time of the fieldwork (2005–2006).

Appendix 5. Sudan at the time of the fieldwork (2005–2006).

Appendix 6. Uganda at the time of the fieldwork (2005–2006).



Appendix 7. Migration within, from and to Sudan at the time of the fieldwork (2005–2006).



Annex 8. Control-tuning paths in the context of place coping

1.Multi routing/ Exiting							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Managing people with fear and insecurity	Wanting to force control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to maintain control; having limited or no control; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; need to increase control	Dealing with fear and insecurity by promoting or experiencing them	Retaining control; claiming control; promoting control; preventing control; sharing control; accepting control; fearing control; dealing with obstructing control; expressing control	Authorities/fellow migrants/local residents kill, rape and abuse people, burn homes; accusing/being accused of opposition actions; finding practical solutions to exit after being raped, abused or tortured; finding practical solutions to exit after a family member, relative, colleague or someone has been raped, abused, tortured or killed; making requests for documents; managing requests for documents; solving how to deal with forbidden access to places; maintaining fear through increased actions; finding ways to go into hiding; finding ways to leave the area; looking for assistance to exit; remaining silent about what has happened;	Mental health problems; emotions like fearing attacks and death; physical ability to move; availability of assistance; security problems; ability to go into hiding; presence of opposition forces; an authority's ability to capture large geographical areas; acceptance of using rape and torture as methods of war	Authorities/ fellow migrants/local residents determine who can and cannot exit; authorities/fellow migrants/local residents determine who can stay alive and who is killed; migrants/local residents experience violence, assault, rape, hunger, cold etc.; death; not fearing for life and well-being; achieving personal development in opposition forces or as an authority; successfully hiding from authorities; facing problems due to accusations of siding with the enemy; staying in place; reaching a safer area; putting others in danger by fleeing; increase in mental health problems	Possessed control; lost control; non-existent control; gained control; feared control; momentary control; decreased control; simultaneous control; fluctuating control; regained control

				giving assistance to others; limiting movement			
Political decisions and policies	Having limited or no control; need to resist forced control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to maintain control; need to increase control; need to prevent control; agreeing to others' control; need to force control	A need to deal with changing policies and politics of various areas; need to promote new policies or politics; need to exit due to forced or voluntary military recruitment	Accepting control; resisting control; negotiating control; promoting control; increasing control; dealing with obstructing control; expressing control; facilitating control; claiming control; preventing control; stepping back from control; seeing only the positive side of control; fearing control	Fleeing a place due to a change in government; finding ways to enter another place due to better policies related to one's own situation; obtaining power and reacting to the migration situation through new policies and political decisions; authorities pressuring people into military recruitment; authorities managing people with fear and harsh rules in order to recruit into the military or elsewhere; a person seeks ways to exit in order to avoid the military; finding ways to exit to join opposition forces; finding ways to go into hiding to avoid military recruitment; being forced to accept recruitment into the military; going through voluntary recruitment with opposition forces in order to resist an	Mental and physical abuse; illegality of remaining; ability to obtain documents; types of political views; frequency of political and authority changes; types of policies in a place; distance between places; availability of information; ability to understand and interpret; characteristics of an authority; possibility to hide; age, sex, religion; ethnicity; ability to cope mentally and physically in difficult situations; level of mental and physical health problems; availability of support networks; level of	Staying in place; successfully *exiting* spontaneously or with assistance; experiencing abuse; successfully obtaining legal documents; increased documented/un-documented migration to an area; appearance of new migration routes; migrants' lack of understanding of the impact of new policies on their situation; fluctuation in migration related political decisions and policies; being in military /guerrilla forces against one's will; successfully escaping from forced recruitment; being injured; death; fighting for one's own country and people; mental and/or physical health problems; inventing stories about why one is serving an enemy to explain why one is in service	Accepted control; fluctuating control; non-existent control; lost control; decreased control; feared control; forced control; gained control; simultaneous control

				enemy; trying to cope with military service and authority control	violence and abuse		
Involuntary migration	Having limited or no control; wanting to force control; need to deal with forced control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to allow control	Experiences related to involuntary migration of a child soldier, child slave, forced labour and sex worker; exploitation by human smugglers and human traffickers	Accepting control; resisting control; preventing control; forcing control; stating control; dealing with obstructing control; rebuilding control; fearing control; increasing control	Abduction from a village for exploitation by human traffickers and "slave owners"; increased demand from local residents and foreigners for child slaves, child soldiers, sex slaves and household assistance; a forced migrant attempting to remain sane by maintaining the dream of return and memories from the past; planning an escape; taking advantage of sudden opportunities for *exiting*; obeying orders to avoid abuse; entering villages to find suitable victims for trafficking; abductors maintaining fear; looking for buyers for forced migrants	Availability of suitable persons for human trafficking and for misuse of "slave owners"; characteristics of "slave owners", smugglers and traffickers; amount of work/services expected; ability to escape; financial means; availability of assistance (for example, in the form of advice, money, connections, transport)	Forced migrants remaining in a particular place or moving with "owners"; forced migrants continuing to work with a heavy workload and abuse from "slave owners" or human traffickers; successfully *exiting* from a difficult situation and an area of captivity; moving from a bad situation to a similar bad situation; human traffickers abducting more people; an increase in mental and/or physical health problems; "slave owners" demanding more migrants, thus more people are abducted	Lost control; non-existent control; gained control; fluctuating control; feared control; momentary control; decreased control; shared control
Exiting for better safety and protection	Wanting to force control; having limited or no control; need to resist control; need	Outbreak of a conflict, and consequent increased need to find a secure place	Claiming control; accepting control; negotiating control; promoting	Escaping war through any means; *exiting* and *multi-routing* in spite of risks; paying human smugglers; asking for assistance from people and organisations;	Availability and possibility of using human smugglers; assistance from others; availability of	"Hearing no more guns" = reaching safety; being abused; death; fluctuating experiences of safety during movements; some reach safety while some remain in danger; reaching	Possessed control; gained control; regained control; lost control; non-existent

	to increase control	and protection	control; sharing control; resisting control; dealing with obstructing control	dealing with negative aspects of fleeing; listening to what others have to say about particular *exiting* routes to gain knowledge; moving from a camp to a slum area or the streets; seeking the UNHCR; striving to find family members or other migrants	transportation; ability to beat a surveillance system when crossing borders; ability to go into hiding; sicknesses, death; the need for a migrant to leave a dying family member or acquaintance en route in order to be able to proceed with the journey; document requests; type of routes and terrain; familiarity of a route; financial means; resistance from local residents; security problems (including theft of belongings, possibility of rape and abduction); ability and inability to say good-bye; ability to leave others behind	safety without losing family members; losing family members, relatives and/or friends; successfully entering an area where there are possibilities for protection (like UNHCR presence); obtaining refugee status; obtaining resettlement; being rejected by UNHCR; continuing to live in limbo	control; fluctuating control; simultaneous control; momentary control

Forced relocation	Need to prevent control; need to deal with forced control; need to increase control; having limited or no control; need to share control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to maintain control; need to relinquish control	Need to deal with *exiting* in relation to relocation or demolition of place of residence	Resisting control; preventing control; accepting control; negotiating control; sharing control; forcing control; claiming control	Authorities entering an area to demolish houses or slum areas in the name of "development" (for example to sell land to investors, to hide migrants from sight); migrants not wishing to move or behave as authorities expect; authorities beginning demolition without prior notice; migrants protesting and clashing with authorities; migrants stepping aside and watching their dwelling being demolished; migrants accepting relocation further away	Availability of pre-notice from authorities; level of surprise over demolition of an area; availability of a new area of residence; type of a relocation area; behaviour of authorities/ migrants	New home constructed on the same spot as previous dwelling after authorities have left the area; moving to and living in a new area; authority orders and migrants obey; "development" occurs; "successful" relocation; injured and/or dead protestors after clashes	Lost control; non-existent control; accepted control; possessed control; simultaneous control; forced control; feared control
Decreased possibility for well-being in everyday life	Having limited or no control; need to increase control; desire to diminish others' control; taking advantage of increased control	Dealing with *exiting* due to everyday problems in the current place of residence	Claiming control; accepting control; increasing control; sharing control; resisting control; promoting control; negotiating control	Being unable to cope with basic needs and thus seeking ways to escape a bad situation/place; selling property to be able to exit; suffering from hunger and thus seeking food; local residents blaming migrants for problems; chasing migrants away from a place; a conflict interrupting schooling, thus causing a migrant	Availability of food and water; level of hunger, thirst, sickness, tiredness; financial means; number of migrants/local residents in a place; authority actions and policies; availability of assistance; attitude of	Obtained better standard of living after having exited a place; returning to a conflict area to make a livelihood (for example to farm); *exiting* a place without difficulties; suffering from fear and/or injuries; remaining as there is no possibility of *exiting* in prevailing circumstances; receiving none of the needed services; successfully obtaining services and/or	Gained control; decreased control; simultaneous control; fluctuating control; lost control; regained control; modified control; shared control; accepted

				to look for a placement in a school elsewhere for children and/or adults; *exiting* to find health, feeding and/or vaccination centres for children; staying in a place in spite of a conflict in order to obtain a qualification; travelling long distances to attend school; *multi-routing* in order to find medical assistance and medicine; not going to a doctor or a feeding centre as the distance is too long	migrants/local residents/ authorities; availability of support networks; availability of services in a place; qualifications for services; financial means; opportunities available; good luck; information dissemination reaching those interested in services; distance between places; opportunities provided by foreigners	personal development; becoming healthier; reaching services too late; sicknesses; death; suffering; return to the first resettlement community after realising that services there are better than in the second resettlement community; successfully receiving a qualification; interrupted education, as there is no schooling available, no money to attend school or family requires more workforce to make ends meet	control; momentary control; non-existent control
Employment	Need to increase control; need to re-establish control; dealing with equal control; need to deal with forced control; need to resist control; need to maintain control	*Exiting* an area and/or crossing borders for employment-related reasons; *exiting* employment-related situations	Claiming control; negotiating control; accepting control; promoting control; preventing control; sharing control; resisting control;	Continuing doing business/working in spite of a conflict; feeling there is no suitable work in current place, thus *exiting* the place; being forced to leave employment due to a conflict; misusing employer status to gain exit permission; needing help from authorities in *exiting* a	Availability of employment; gender roles; sex, age, religion, ethnicity; spoken languages; qualifications; ability to gain a job; characteristics and attitude of an employer; level of threat; policies and rules in	Obtaining employment successfully; going through internships; at times having employment while at times being unemployed; migrants successfully providing for their family due to someone surrendering a job to them; being able to do business; being able to provide for the family after returning to a conflict area for work; not	Gained control; shared control; non-existent control; fluctuating control; decreased control; lost control; feared control; forced control; simultaneous control

			forcing control; facilitating control	difficult work situation; applying/looking for a job elsewhere; returning to a conflict area in order to obtain employment in spite of high risks; surrendering a job to someone else who needs it more; taking courses to obtain better qualifications and work; accepting different gender roles from those in one's place of origin due to an employment situation; coping with suffering from employer abuse; resigning from a job due to harassment, abuse and threat of death; an employer/authority disregarding human rights to take full advantage of the vulnerability of an employee; disregarding authority policies; an authority failing to assist an employee in a difficult situation and instead siding with an employer	relation to employment of migrants; distance between places; availability of information; emotions like sympathy	*exiting* in spite of need for work; facing poverty; continuing to experience daily abuse from an employer; an employee being murdered by an employer after being unable able to exit a difficult situation in another way; long working hours; suffering from others' lack of employment	

Status determination process	Need to increase control; agreeing to others' control; need to maintain control	A migrant wishing to exit an area through obtaining legal refugee status and/or resettlement; a migrant receiving a status for employment or education; state/ organisation needing to decide on legal status	Accepting control; claiming control; stating control; resisting control; facilitating control	Dealing with unknown authority schedules; trying to understand the protection and status granting process; finding ways to be resettled; calling/visiting UNHCR/IOM/state offices; asking other migrants about the status determination process and their experiences; providing authorities with proof of status and conflict/forced migration experiences; providing authorities with proof of qualification; failing to contact offices as it is not useful; waiting to be contacted by authorities; authorities carrying out status determination	Distance between authority office and asylum seeker/refugee's home; ability to understand status determination process; availability of connections and information; ability to question the process; emotions like frustration; availability of certificates and witnesses to prove the case; behaviour of office staff; ability to express one's own experiences	Migrants moving closer to an authority office; staying in place and struggling to meet requests from authorities; migrants/migrants-to-be experiencing an easier status determination process as their case is easily verifiable and they are in possession of documents; receiving a non-preferred status; receiving no resettlement; feeling disappointed; continuing to find ways to exit an area and/or difficult circumstances; protesting against others receiving resettlement while one is forced to remain; an authority closing the case or leaving it open	Gained control; modified control; lost control; non-existent control; decreased control; shared control; momentary control
Feelings: loved ones and/or other migrants living elsewhere	Need to share control; need to increase control; need to allow control; having limited or no control	The need to exit to be connected /re-connected with someone	Claiming control; promoting control; sharing control; accepting control; stating control;	Looking for possibilities to visit someone; parent/s die/s so children must find someone to take care of them; coping emotionally with the need to be reunited with someone elsewhere; a minor	Distance; availability of information on where people fled to due to a conflict; different legal statuses and situations; type of place where one lives; family	Successfully meeting or being reunited with family members/relatives/other migrants; learning that someone is dead/is still missing/is alive; migrants being unable to meet due to legal problems or a conflict; family members being resettled in different	Lost control; non-existent control; gained control; regained control; shared control; rebuilt control; feared control; decreased

			resisting control; negotiating control	needs to travel without family in order to be connected with others; finding a way to exit and carry out *multi-routing* due to marriage between two nationals of different countries; coping with being unable to resettle close to family; being asked to participate in a move and subsequently agreeing or refusing; trying to contact family and relatives through different means of communication; *exiting* to move to areas where one has heard there are loved ones or other migrants; giving responsibility for a minor to unknown people during travel; making inquiries to find a person; attempting to enter a sector of an IDP camp where there are people from the same place of origin; using the prevailing opportunities for moving (for instance	members being alive/dead; knowledge about missing people, other migrants and places; means of communication; financial means; possibility of proving one's case for resettlement; means of transportation; emotions like trust; connections	countries; successfully arriving to live in an area with other migrants; being unable to accept sponsored resettlement in a preferred country due to lack of financial means and consequently being forced to accept humanitarian resettlement in a place where there is no family	control; simultaneous control; momentary control

				with a military flight); ascertaining the opportunities and practical possibilities for being reunited with others in resettlement; applying for resettlement			
Feelings: disliking current place of residence	Need to increase control; need to resist control; taking advantage of increased control; need to understand control; need to accept control; having limited or no control	The need to leave the current place of residence due to dislike of the location and/or people	Claiming control; promoting control; resisting control; retaining control	Coping on a daily basis with local residents' negative attitude; pre-arrival information and realities do not match, leading migrants to seek possibilities for *exiting* an area; discussing moving away with authorities; discussion with other people reveals new possibilities in the current place so migrants re-consider *exiting*; trying to talk to local residents in order to feel more at home; finding out about other places through discussions, Internet, authorities etc.; protesting against authority actions; authorities explain rules for moving elsewhere (for example what happens to financial support)	Presence of *negative-tagging*; availability of possibilities and opportunities to do what one wants; ability to socialise with local residents; emotions like frustration; inability to understand; financial means; characteristics of a place; policies and rules of state/municipality	Migrants changing their attitude towards a place; moving successfully to another place; moving away from an enemy neighbour; getting to know neighbours; moving from a bad situation to a better, similar or worse situation; other migrants avoiding a troublemaking migrant, who becomes an outcast in the community; authorities continue to follow the same policies in spite of migrant protests	Modified control; lost control; gained control; momentary control; decreased control; possessed control

Return movements	Need to increase control; need to resist control; agreeing to others' control; wanting to force control	Coping with *exiting* related to a return movement	Sharing control; accepting control; resisting control; promoting control; forcing control	Discovering how those who have returned are coping; considering what is the best for the family; asking for organised repatriation; return to a place not being what one imagined and thus leaving the area; considering options of *exiting* and staying in place; authorities promoting information dissemination, assisted return and development in order to encourage people to move back; a rival ethnic group leaving the area, thus making return an option; saying good-bye	Availability of organised return; possibility to move spontaneously; living conditions in a place of asylum, place of origin, place of resettlement or other place; results of go-and-see visits; emotions like disappointment or longing for return; attitude of local residents in the place of origins; financial means	Successful or failed *exiting* and moving with assistance; successful or failed *exiting* and moving spontaneously; staying in place and waiting to see how others cope; migrants returning to a previous place due to disappointment and difficult living conditions; authorities reaching their goal of people returning; returnees voting in favour of a new government or a new independent state	Shared control; rebuilt control; accepted control; lost control; momentary control; fluctuating control; impartial control; gained control; regained control
Exiting as a common practice	Need to maintain a control equilibrium; need to deal with forced control; need to increase control; need to divide one's own control; need to allow control; need	*Exiting* and *multi-routing* across a border/in an area long-established and considered a norm	Accepting control; resisting control; promoting control; claiming control; expressing control; dealing with obstructing control	People living in borderlands regularly crossing a border to visit relatives, for business or due to a conflict; using a particular way to cross a border in spite of official checkpoints (for example at an international border); keeping old traditions alive; fighting another ethnic group in order	Creation of international or internal borders; level of conflict and threat; presence of ethnic groups and their ownership of land; level of interest in continuing old traditions; ability to cooperate; presence of	*Exiting* and crossing borders as usual; changes in *exiting* and *multi-routing* due to land and ethnic disputes and their outcomes; changes in *exiting* and *multi-routing* due to new borders, politics and/or policies; loss of old traditions due to new borders and/or conflicts; continuation or ending of business at the border area due to	Accepted control; lost control; non-existent control; re-claimed control; shared control; impartial control; momentary control; fluctuating control

	to maintain control			to stay in the area; *exiting* due to existence of international borders; chasing another ethnic group across the border; authorities building checkpoints and border surveillance in order to manage conflict and long-established border crossing; closing a border in order to keep a conflict out; neighbouring countries cooperate due to their nationals crossing borders during peace-time and various conflicts; humanitarian assistance organisations exit and enter border areas/other areas to provide aid to migrants	opposition forces; solidity of a physical border (for example a fence)	conflict; regularly increased humanitarian assistance activities in border areas due to conflict	
No need to exit	No need to change prevailing control	Living life without *exiting* borders, areas or difficult situations	No need for a particular control - tuning strategy	Non-existent	Circumstances remain as they are; changing circumstances	Staying in place without *exiting*	No particular control-tuning outcome

2.Multi routing/ Document solutioning							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Acquiring documents in a fully legal way	Need to increase control; dealing with equal control; need to demonstrate who is in control; agreeing to other's control	Following procedures in order to obtain documents in a legal way; authorities determining the role of migrants/local residents in the document granting process	Claiming control; sharing control; negotiating control; expressing control; accepting control; forcing control	Requiring supporting documents from an employer, school, family etc.; a migrant/local resident convincing authorities about reasons and need for travel; showing who is "the boss"; trusting authorities to take care of documents in order for migrants to be able to move on; authorities hindering the legal route to acquire documents; authorities following rules meticulously; coping with requests in order to obtain a document	Qualifications for an exit/entrance visa; negotiating skills; ability to understand procedures; characteristics of authorities; emotions like mistrust; assistance from family, employer or someone else; financial means; distance between places	An actor receiving documents and *exiting* and/or implementing *multi routing* successfully; a person failing to qualify for documents and thus being unable to exit/enter; feeling inferior due to authority behaviour; taking the decision to use other than legal means to exit/enter an area after a failed attempt to exit/enter legally; a fair document granting process which respects defined roles of migrants and authorities, leading to smooth cooperation between both parties	Gained control; non-existent control; impartial control; possessed control; accepted control; shared control
Acquiring documents in a semi-legal or illegal way	Need to increase control; need to deal with forced control	A migrant or local resident acquiring legal documents through authorities performing illegal actions or through	Preventing control; skipping control; claiming control; facilitating control; sharing	Looking for assistance to obtain documents; authorities using their position to perform illegal actions; using semi-official agencies to obtain legal documents; ascertaining the best	Availability of travel agencies and/or needed connections; presence of other migrants; popularity of routes; level of acceptance of	*Exiting*/entering successfully with documents that are legal but have been obtained or organised semi-legally; successful *exiting*/entering with the help of authorities; those who assisted in obtaining	Gained control; shared control; lost control; fluctuating control; momentary control;

		other semi-legal actions	control; handing over control	routes to travel with and without documents; bribing an official to cross a border in her/his car or through using her/his connections	corruption; availability of assistance from family members, friends, employer or someone else; financial means; previous experiences of acquiring documents through legal or illegal means	documents suffering at the hands of authorities; authorities considering migration movements illegal; deportation; failing to *exit*/enter	regained control
Acquiring no documents	Need to increase control; need to deal with forced control	Need to deal with *exiting* / entering and *multi-routing* without documents	Preventing control; skipping control; accepting control; resisting control	Ascertaining the best routes for *exiting*/entering without documents; attempting to beat surveillance systems; seeking assistance to move without documents (for example human smugglers); dealing with obstacles like being apprehended; moving at night with the help of smugglers; increasing success of undocumented movement through bribes and using available networks	Presence of other migrants and authorities; popularity of routes; acceptance of corruption; availability of assistance in the form of family members, friends, employers etc.; availability of human smugglers; financial means; harassment by authorities or local residents; type of terrain en route	Avoiding official processing of documents, thereby improving the chances of *exiting*/entering; dependence on human smugglers; fear caused by lack of legal documents; stolen passport or belongings, abuse or death due to illegal movement; Migrants exhausting their funds after paying an actor a large sum of money for *exiting*/entering; taking longer detour routes instead of a normal route or shortcuts; struggling to pay human smugglers; failing to migrate without legal or semi-legal documents; deportation	Gained control; shared control; lost control; fluctuating control; momentary control; non-existent control; accepted control; decreased control

Acquiring documents for *exiting* other than a country	Need to increase control; need to resist control; agreeing to other's control; need to maintain control; need to accept control; need to facilitate control; need to diminish other's control	Wanting or needing documents to exit/enter, for example, employment, a refugee camp, a school or a difficult situation	Negotiating control; accepting control; resisting control; stepping back from control; facilitating control; claiming control; retaining control; preventing control; forcing control; dealing with obstructing control; doubting control; sharing control	Finding ways, through other people, to resign from work in order to flee a place; deciding on and working towards acquiring a school certificate before *exiting* an area; thinking that authorities know better in the current situation; applying for an exit/entrance permit from a camp commander; authorities not allowing people to enter or exit a camp/settlement; migrants requesting that authorities prevent unwanted people from entering a camp/settlement; migrants disobeying the rules; expressing concern about control in a place; allowing others to take control for the benefit of one's own safety; protesting against others; sleeping in front of a UNHCR office to obtain a card for an appointment	Safety in a refugee camp/ settlement and surrounding areas; level of determination to *exit*/enter; assistance and connections available; financial means; acceptance of corruption; harassment by authorities or local residents; smoothness of bureaucratic processes; ability to handle fear and threats; presence of offices granting documents; ability to negotiate; existence of threats outside camp/ settlement; manner of expressing issues; circumstances inside a camp; ability and interest to understand	Authorities allowing migrants or other actors to *exit*/enter a refugee settlement/camp with a document and migrants accepting/resisting this, leading to smooth cooperation in or rebellion against *document solutioning*; a person receiving a school certificate before *exiting*; migrants experiencing safer movement through successful *document solutioning*; migrants successfully resigning from employment; successful/failed *exiting*/entering a situation or place; a migrant staying in place; getting into trouble; a decrease in one's own decision making while others' increases; unwanted people unable to enter a camp/settlement; intrusion of outsiders into camp/settlement; receiving/not receiving a UNHCR card in order to proceed with status determination and enter UNHCR premises	Gained control; lost control; non-existent control; accepted control; momentary control; fluctuating control; rebuilt control; modified control; possessed control; shared control; simultaneous control; decreased control

					decisions; availability of free choice; valid/invalid reason to exit and enter; weather; time; infrastructure and architecture of places and buildings		
1.Place sensing / Freedom to choose							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Choosing to be or not be in a relationship	Having limited or no control; need to increase control; need to resist control; need to prevent control; need to diminish other's control; dealing with equal control; need to accept forced control; need to allow control	A migrant choosing whether to marry, remain married or divorce; a migrant choosing whether to be in a dating relationship	Forcing control; stating control; preventing control; facilitating control; negotiating control; accepting control; increasing control; skipping control; expressing control	Marrying according to traditions of place of origin; being unable to divorce in a place of asylum and thus being forced to stay in a marriage; not finding a suitable candidate for marriage in place of asylum thus bringing a wife from place of origin to place of asylum; not wanting to get married; being in an abusive relationship without possibility of leaving spouse; being in an abusive relationship and getting a divorce, as it	Availability of assistance from family, ethnic group or authorities; presence of suitable candidates for marriage; financial means (for example paying dowry); religion, traditions; distance between place of origin and place of asylum/transit/ resettlement; marriage and	Marrying a person from the same ethnic group and/or religion; successfully bringing a bride from place of origin or other place of asylum to the current place of residence in order to marry; a successful divorce from an abusive relationship; both parties having decision-making power over their relationship in country of resettlement; continuing marriage in spite of changing places; separating due to the decisions of others; feeling free; feeling constrained	Gained control; modified control; impartial control; lost control; forced control; fluctuating control; non-existent control

				is possible in place of resettlement; authorities preventing marriage; practice of divorce supported by host society and authorities; dating a person in spite of ethnic group/family/friends not accepting that person	divorce policies and laws in different places; knowledge of practices in current place of residence and other places		
Choosing how to develop skills	Having limited or no control; need to deal with forced control; need to increase control; need to maintain control; need to accept forced control; need to re-establish control	A migrant wanting to choose how, where and when to develop her/his skills; authorities determining education issues	Accepting control; negotiating control; forcing control; increasing control; claiming control; stepping back from control; dealing with obstructing control; expressing control	Realising education is unavailable for migrants in current place of residence and thus seeking ways to migrate elsewhere; applying for vocational training in a refugee settlement; dealing with being illiterate among literate people; authorities imposing a particular curriculum; considering one's own role in migration in relation to skills development; changing one's religion in order to obtain an education; coping with difficult travel between home and education centre	Distance between home and education centre; level of human rights; availability of employment or education in place of residence; knowledge of other places; attitude of local residents and authorities; equality of rules; legal status; level of previous education; religion; emotions like fear	Moving away to participate in schooling elsewhere; obtaining skills through education that would have been impossible to receive elsewhere; struggling to keep up with teaching and thus becoming frustrated; dropping out of class; learning what authorities allow; feeling free; feeling constrained; not achieving any personal development while in migration; better understanding of the world, places and various matters due to the migration experience; using skills and knowledge obtained in places of asylum when *re-rooting home*; securing independence, a new identity, a better future	Gained control; non-existent control; fluctuating control; decreased control; lost control; rebuilt control; accepted control; momentary control

						and respect; participating in politics; becoming more organised as a group; dreaming again	
Choosing a belief	Having limited or no control; need to increase control; need to prevent control; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; need to share control; need to accept forced control; need to maintain control; need to relinquish control	Authority imposing a religion; migrants realise their own beliefs contradict those of the host society; need to retain/change religion	Resisting control; preventing control; facilitating control; accepting control; handing over control; doubting control; claiming control	Accepting/ rejecting authority offers of bribes to change religion; retaining/changing one's own religion to achieve a goal; trying to understand local residents' and host society's attitude towards religion and other beliefs	Availability of human rights to practice religion; equality under the law; belonging to majority/ minority; presence and causes of conflict; state and authority policies; possibilities for fleeing; level of poverty; knowledge of other places and religions	Converting to the enemy's religion; suffering from authority harassment and abuse for disobeying their rules; feeling free; feeling constrained; fleeing to another area where one can retain one's beliefs; escaping a high-pressure situation	Lost control; accepted control; non-existent control; regained control; fluctuating control; feared control; forced control
Selecting with whom *to local mingle*	Having limited or no control; need to prevent control; need to deal with forced control; need to increase control	Choosing with whom, where and when to interact	Accepting control; resisting control; negotiating control; claiming control	Coping with being unable to meet friends and relatives; dealing with a curfew; dealing with being pressured by others not to *local mingle* with particular people; trying to make friends with local residents; dealing with *negative tagging*	Traditions, religion and way of life in a place; authority orders and policies; one's origin and status; gender expectations; appearance; attitude of local residents,	Feeling free; feeling constrained; succeeding or failing to defy the rules; giving up relationships; befriending someone	Gained control; lost control; modified control; momentary control; accepted control; feared control

					migrants and authorities		
2. Place sensing / Emotional ride							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Home	Having limited or no control; need to increase control; need to share control; need to re-establish control; need to relinquish control	Thinking what and where is home, homeland and/or own land; considering who is a migrant in relation to home and other places; migrants representing a threat to homes of other migration actors	Stating control; negotiating control; doubting control; rebuilding control; expressing control; promoting control; resisting control; accepting control; dealing with obstructing control	Trying to cope with missing one's family and home; wishing to be elsewhere, thus finding ways to migrate; coping with feeling lost in a place of asylum or resettlement; deciding to feel at home in new places; dealing with emotions attached to losing family, friends and relatives; dealing with emotions attached to losing land; wanting to *re-root home* and thus seeking ways to return; attempting to settle in a new place and society; migrants considering their position in relation to home and family in order to cope with a new situation	Types of relationships with family, friends and relatives; birth place; experiences in migration; type of environment; emotions; traditions, ways of life, language, religion; experiences of hardship and/or success; ability to understand and interpret	Feeling at ease/desperate/sad etc.; suffering; understanding experiences and emotions as part of migration; *re-rooted home*; building a home in a new place; overcoming/failing to dispel images related to home, homeland, family and relatives; mental health problems; succeeding in life; feeling disappointed that migration interrupted a good life (for example scattering family members around the world, losing work, interrupting schooling); considering childhood in place of origin a golden period in life; sense of belonging nowhere; seeing life as unproductive in migration; considering place of resettlement one's home country, as one was born there	Momentary control; shared control; gained control; rebuilt control; accepted control; decreased control; regained control; fluctuating control

Legal and adopted statuses in different places	Having limited or no control; need to allow control; need to deal with forced control; need to accept forced control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to increase control; need to maintain control	Need to understand one's own status in relation to different stages of migration and the practical significance of having a certain status means; authorities promoting statuses through bureaucracy and events	Accepting control; resisting control; claiming control; sharing control; facilitating control; negotiating control; seeing only the positive side of control; balancing control; fearing control; skipping control	Dealing with status-based assistance; attempting to place oneself in relation to others through status; trying to place others in relation to oneself and others; striving to understand UNHCR/state/IOM processing of statuses; protesting at UNHCR status determination process and its lack of transparency; demanding resettlement; demanding improvement in situation	How local residents, authorities and other migrants see the migrant; how migration actors see each other; emotions; ability to understand legal and adopted statuses; experiences during migration; practices promoting status labelling; state policies on citizenship; UNHCR actions on status determination; length of stay in a place; ability to deal with UNHCR/state/ IOM; availability of assistance based on status	Criticism of UNHCR/state/IOM for poor processing and lack of transparency resulting in the situation improving, worsening or remaining the same; feeling that one is/is not a refugee/IDP/citizen after being described as such; feeling different; successful/failed strengthening of one's own status; failing to understand difference between legal and adopted statuses; not receiving assistance; maintaining spirit through theme days in a camp (for example a refugee day); feeling unequal with local residents; considering one's place of origin to be that of other family members even when one has not actually lived there; considering oneself a refugee due to lack of work or a passport or because there are few people from one's own ethnic background in a given place; considering oneself a refugee because one is outside one's own country, living in someone	Non-existent control; lost control; modified control; accepted control; forced control; regained control; decreased control; momentary control; simultaneous control

						else's country, living in a refugee camp, or because one is looking for peace and there are so many difficulties; mental health problems due to the current or previous situation and/or experiences related to status; a protest culminating in death and/or injuries instead of improvement of life; authorities being in full control	
Memories related to places	Need to increase control; need to maintain control; need to re-establish control; need to share control; need to resist control	Dealing with psychological problems; need to transmit memories to other generations; need to balance memories from place of origin and migration with integrating into a new host society	Promoting control; resisting control; balancing control; accepting control; increasing control; expressing control; facilitating control; dealing with obstructing control	Doing the best to preserve memories so that experiences and places are not forgotten; doing one's best to forget memories of certain experiences and places; passing memories on to children; transmitting culture, knowledge and language; trying to cope with mental health problems due to negative memories of conflict, killings, bad treatment etc.; trying to obtain inner peace with memories from the past, current experiences and future	Age; place of origin; experiences of conflict and migration; types of environments; relationships with family, friends and relatives; relationships with other migrants; availability of medical assistance; level of interest in passing memories to others	IDP camp sector being named after a place of origin; living with others from the same background; keeping memories alive; feeling one possesses emotional control through memories; memories of murder, rape and other negative experiences diminishing through assistance from medical personnel; leaning on memories in order to feel at home due to similarities between place of origin and asylum/resettlement	Regained control; lost control; shared control; momentary control; fluctuating control; possessed control; accepted control

				events through talking and remembering			
Feelings related to places	Having limited or no control; need to understand control; need to maintain control; need to deal with forced control; need to share control; need to increase control	Need to understand place, people and one's own life	Stating control; sharing control; dealing with obstructing control; expressing control; balancing control; resisting control	Coping with understanding how a place functions; coping with understanding others; coping with understanding one's own feelings; coping with understanding situations; seeking something to do; doing one's best to survive in a place	How fairly "development" (for example, wealth, infrastructure) is distributed; how people in different places react to other people and their needs; type of land (for example for cultivation); preconceptions about a place; availability of services and goods; price of food and housing; likelihood of accidents, death and conflict in a place; presence of guns; presence of transportation; policies of accepting migrants; weather; level of differences between places and people; negative/positive experiences in a place; harassment	Considering current place of residence good; considering current place of residence bad; not accepting current place of residence; wanting to exit/*exiting* when possible; becoming depressed or disappointed; disturbing other people's lives due to one's own negative emotions; seeing opportunities for making the most of each place (for example business between places of resettlement and origin)	Non-existent control; lost control; possessed control; momentary control; regained control; shared control

1.Spatial manoeuvring / Place picking							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Migrants wanting to live in a particular place	Need to increase control; need to share control; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; need to diminish other's control; need to prevent control	Desire to live in a particular place due to one's own needs, others' needs, experiences of treatment, imagined situation and/or known people	Claiming control; negotiating control; sharing control; resisting control; stating control; dealing with obstructing control; seeing only the positive side of control; increasing control; expressing control	Ascertaining from other people and different sources the characteristics of certain areas and places; dreaming of a better life; rejecting an authority suggestion or forced action in relation to living in a particular place, area or resettlement country; noncompliance with authority decisions; fleeing; making arrangements to be able to move; considering the advantages and disadvantages of urban and rural areas or various places; considering the best next move; authorities disregarding the needs and wishes of migrants; authorities taking into account migrant needs and interests; local	Distance between places; difficulties in daily travel; distance between ideas; availability of services (functioning health care, schools, shops etc.); availability of protection and human rights; presence of family, friends, other migrants; hearing positive/negative things about a place; availability of employment; ability to obtain citizenship; level of infrastructure and living costs; considering that an area resembles or does not resemble one's place of origin; opportunities for	Waiting for further authority offers and actions related to a place; refusing to leave a place for another place; injuries or death due to protesting; living in one's preferred place; feeling at home; being disappointed about being unable to live in one's preferred place; migrants feeling equal in decision-making with authorities; becoming (even more) disappointed about living in limbo; achieving a better education and future for children through resettlement (even if this means parents not fulfilling their own dreams and personal development); rejecting a place and consequently there being no need to start all over again (for example, with a new language, new way of life, new environment)	Gained control; modified control; shared control; accepted control; lost control; momentary control; fluctuating control

				residents harassing migrants to get rid of them; participating in a sit-in or demonstration to express needs and protest against authority decisions; going into hiding; being ready to go anywhere rather than stay in the current situation	resettlement or other onward movement; child-related matters; advantages and disadvantages for moving; presence of conflict; absence of migrants in a place; authority presence and actions; types of available housing; type of land, for example for cultivation; security situation; level of freedom to choose; size of a place; possibilities for various activities; feelings		
Migrants living in a particular place	Need to accept forced control; rejecting forced control; need to share control; need to increase control; taking advantage of increased control; need	Living in a particular place due to authority policies, lack of opportunities, lived experiences, assistance, and obtained or lacking knowledge	Accepting control, resisting forced control; sharing control; negotiating control; promoting control; balancing control	Finding a better standard of living with the support of remittances from abroad; finding other migrants to share a dwelling; building a home in the same spot where authorities have previously demolished houses; hiding due to having no documents and not wanting to live	Availability of free choice; living costs; forced relocation; authority actions and policies (for example encampment policies, "development" projects) obstructing other *place picking*	Settling for the situation and place of residence; sharing matters related to living in a particular place; being able to combine one's own expectations with those of others in relation to a place of residence; achieving a good standard of living through remittances from abroad; not living in a proper housing due to	Accepted control; increased control; lost control; modified control; momentary control; fluctuating control; simultaneous control; shared

	to divide one's own control; need to allow control; need to maintain control			in a refugee settlement; assistance from an agent to find housing; switching places of residence between an urban centre and a refugee camp; accepting or overcoming mental fear and/or physical challenges of changing place; allowing migrants to live where ever they want; authorities requiring documents from migrants before permitting them to live in an urban centre; buying land as an IDP; living on the street due to lack of knowledge of other places; applying for a foster family for street children; moving to another place due to harassment by local residents/authorities; living on a higher floor in an apartment building due to being poor	choices; possibilities for resettlement or other onward movement; presence of family, friends and other migrants; child-related matters; advantages and disadvantages of moving; presence of conflict; types of available housing; availability of housing brokers; ability to prove one's case; assistance in starting a small-scale enterprise; ability to make a living; current housing and integration policies; presence of unknown people with "strange" way of life; remittances from abroad and assistance of others; gravity of mental health and physical	being in hiding; facing daily abuse, sicknesses, exhaustion due to unsatisfactory housing; not qualifying for humanitarian assistance due to living in another place than that expected by authorities; successfully being able to live partly in an urban centre, so children can attend a good school, and partly in a refugee camp, to receive humanitarian assistance; staying in place due to mental-health and/or physical-health problems; changing places despite mental-health problems and physical challenges; greater positive interaction between actors in places, less *negative tagging* and better integration into society; being buried in a particular place due to circumstances; owning land; securing a better education and future for children through resettlement (even if this means parents not fulfilling their own dreams and personal development); living apart	control; possessed control; non-existent control; decreased control

					problems; authority actions related to bribery, property of others, requesting sex etc.; possibility of spontaneous or organised movement; opposition voices; knowledge of other places	from family, relatives and friends; living without a large community of other migrants; following local residents' habits and customs	
Migrants wanting to visit, spend time in and/or transit through a particular place	Need to deal with one's own diminished control; need to increase control; need to share control; need to resist control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to allow control	A migrant resisting current limitations on movement by authorities; a migrant being unable to move as s/he wishes; authorities and/or local residents forcing movement and imposing place-related rules	Claiming control; sharing control; resisting control; stating control; accepting control; forcing control; negotiating control; facilitating control; dealing with obstructing control; fearing control	Not going to a doctor, as the distance is too long; finding a human smuggler or other assistance for transiting; *link keeping* with friends, relatives and family; noncompliance with authority rules and policies; acknowledging suitable spaces and places for spending time; using very limited space; local residents preventing migrants from moving through an area; authorities ordering curfews and imposing place and movement restrictions	Emotions like fear (for example, fearing authority actions) or superiority (for example, authorities having ultimate control); availability of financial means; success in *document solutioning*; authority policies; possibilities for noncompliance; disability; ability to negotiate; type of area, place or terrain; stage of migration; availability of support	Successfully transiting/failing to transit an area to reach a destination; successfully visiting friends, relatives and family; acknowledging authority policies which are contrary to one's own wishes in relation to *place picking*; street children living in sewage pipes and under verandas of restaurants, and at times spending time under authority surveillance; limiting *spatial manoeuvring*; distance between places; feeling like one were prison due to limited use of space	Shared control; accepted control; fluctuating control; lost control; non-existent control; decreased control; feared control; forced control

					networks; time of day; weather		
2.Spatial manoeuvring / Operating funds							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Paying for housing	Need to share control; need to negotiate control; wanting to force control; need to increase control; need to allow control; need to accept (forced) control	A migrant requiring suitable housing; local residents renting housing	Sharing control; negotiating control; accepting control; forcing control; dealing with obstructing control; skipping control; claiming control; increasing control	Migrants seeking affordable housing through various means; migrants asking others if they want to share housing in order to cope with living-costs (for example, when previous flatmates leave for resettlement); migrants surrendering their privacy in order to deal with living costs; renting a dwelling with other families; trying to discuss rent levels and payment with landlord; receiving a particular amount of financial support for housing from a host state/organisation; migrants asking for financial assistance from state/organisation; authorities deciding	Level of rent; financial means; availability of others interested in sharing costs; personality of a landlord; amount of financial support; integrity of an agent; level of expressing and implementing one's own decision making**;** possibilities for employment; availability of housing elsewhere; level of poverty; remittances received; level of difficulty of the migrant's present living situation; availability of state/ organisation benefits	Many families/single persons living in the same dwelling; experiencing poor living conditions and no privacy; landlord expecting rent on an exact date under threat of eviction; a tenant being evicted; settling for the amount of financial support offered by the host society even if it is too little to pay the rent and survive; being grateful for housing benefit and accepting authority policies; money lost due to a dishonest agent; living elsewhere after moving to cheaper residential areas, slums or living on the street; having no say over the standard of living or obtaining electricity or water, as it is controlled by a landlord; living in a better place due to remittances from abroad; authority/landlord having	Shared control; accepted control; lost control; non-existent control; momentary control; fluctuating control; decreased control; feared control; claimed control; forced control**;** gained control; impartial control

				where a migrant lives; using agents/middlemen to find suitable housing; migrants having to deal with difficult landlords; landlords charging higher rent from migrants than from local residents; finding any means to cope with rising rent prices		absolute decision-making power over housing; continuing to disagree and protest about the level of housing benefit	
Having money	Need to share control; taking advantage of increased control; need to diminish other's control; need to understand control; need to increase control; having limited or no control; need to allow control; need to re-establish control; need to relinquish control	Receiving or not receiving money or financial support; assisting others; lacking money	Sharing control; retaining control; facilitating control; increasing control; dealing with obstructing control; doubting control; rebuilding control; handing over control; stepping back from control; negotiating control	Remittances allowing better place picking, thereby resulting in a migrant moving to better housing; link keeping in order to obtain assistance in operating funds; applying for resettlement through sponsorship resettlement programme; ascertaining migrants' financial situation; looking for employment; not sending money to family and relatives in place of origin or asylum; protesting against the level of received financial support; local residents protesting against	Availability and amount of remittances; availability of sponsorship resettlement programmes; information available; misunderstandings; *document-harassing*; availability of employment; type of place; stage of migration; interest and/or ability to assist others financially; changes in financial circumstances; availability of assistance from	Living in a better neighbourhood or in a house of one's own; having sufficient money to live exclusively with one's own family and avoid sharing a dwelling; being resettled; a resettled refugee feeling the pressure of relatives asking for money and thus stopping link keeping; those in asylum or local residents in place of origin feeling they are being forgotten by relatives who do not send money from abroad; local residents being misinformed and assuming migrants misuse the host country's financial support system; receiving no remittances and thus needing to work in difficult circumstances	Shared control; gained control; rebuilt control; lost control; regained control; accepted control; decreased control; fluctuating control; non-existent control; modified control

				financial support given to migrants; finding a place in a squatter area and living in a cardboard house; seeking other ways to escape a bad situation; allowing others' assistance and/or decision making; trying to discuss with those who expect to be paid (for example, landlords)	others; opportunities for other ways of living and cheaper expenses	or apply for funding from an organisation; increase in mental-health problems due to inability to assist others financially; a migrant lacking control of the level of housing (including receiving electricity, water); being unable to remain in current dwelling and being forced to move to a cheaper place; living on the street; being unable to escape slavery-type situation; being stuck, with no possibility of re-rooting home or moving to another place; no possibility of moving or to sending someone to an area with better health services or schools due to a lack of money; being forced to accept that someone else is in charge	
Owning property	Need to relinquish control; need to share control; need to deal with forced control; need to accept forced control; need	Changes in property ownership	Stepping back from control; sharing control; claiming control; forcing control; stating control; dealing with	Relinquishing property due to a conflict, marriage or for some other reason; leaving property behind due to fleeing; buying land as an IDP and paying a large share to the government and middlemen; protesting against someone else	Authority actions and policies; availability of a relative, neighbour, friend or acquaintance to take care of a property; traditions in property ownership,	Owning no property; owning property in a previous place of migration or place of origin but having someone else take care of it; a migrant (including a returnee) being forced to accept loss of property; moving elsewhere; owning new property	Lacking control; non-existent control; decreased control; shared control; forced control; accepted control; gained control;

	to maintain control; need to re-establish control		obstructing control; increasing control; resisting control	seizing one's property; fighting against relocation	marrying, gender and family roles; ability to negotiate; ability to protest against authorities; availability of information; financial means		fluctuating control; momentary control
3.Spatial manoeuvring / Keeping safe							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Authorities determining where migrants live	Need to maintain control; need to accept control; need to resist control; need to facilitate control; need to increase control; need to diminish other's control; need to understand control; need to force control	Authorities settling migrants from different ethnic groups/ religions in the same/ different areas in IDP and refugee camps/ settlements, rural and urban centres	Promoting control; preventing control; increasing control; diminishing other's control; forcing control; sharing control; resisting control; negotiating control; accepting control; dealing with obstructing control;	Reducing conflict between migrants by settling them in different areas; increasing solidarity among migrants by placing them in the same areas; avoiding contact between migrants; forming groups; migrants protesting against placement; preventing conflict between migrants and local residents; preventing conflict between forced migrants and other foreigners	Ability to understand and interpret; ethnic group, religion, age, sex; previous experiences; fertility of land for cultivation; distance between places and areas; presence of other migrants from same/different ethnic group or religion; housing arrangements of (forced) migrants and local residents in an area; availability of information;	Living in peace in different areas (possible decreased conflict); experiencing conflict between groups (possible increased conflict); suffering from injuries, death; previous generation's problems emerging in camps/ settlements and other areas; becoming isolated; getting into trouble with authorities or local residents; feeling safe and being safe; being misused by authorities and local residents; authorities exploiting migrants in terms of property, labour, physical and mental abuse; presence of inter-ethnic marriages;	Gained control; shared control; accepted control; possessed control; fluctuating control; simultaneous control; momentary control, forced control; lost control; decreased control; non-existent control; impartial control; feared control;

			expressing control; balancing control		availability of peace courses	respecting one's own traditions, respecting others' traditions; migrants participating/not participating in cultural days; cluster, block or zone segregation; re-placements within camps/settlements/areas	regained control
Migration actors hiding or fleeing	Need to increase control; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; need to resist forced control; need to share control; need to accept forced control	Migrants having to flee or hide from authorities or local residents to be safe	Claiming control; resisting control; accepting control; sharing control; stepping back from control; dealing with obstructing control; increasing control; retaining control	A migration actor escaping from prison; fleeing from home; leaving family behind; accepting assistance from others; going underground; joining opposition forces; attacking authorities; not returning home after detention; fleeing a country; fleeing a place (for example fleeing a village where authorities burn huts with people inside them); a migrant running away from a mob of local residents who are seeking revenge; being assisted while fleeing; trying to cope on one's own while fleeing; keeping fear under control	Ability to escape; availability of assistance from family, friends, relatives, employer; availability of opportunities; emotions; ability to handle difficult circumstances and situations; support from religion	A migrant being apprehended; being imprisoned, detained, abused; being reunited with family; successful escape with assistance from others or on one's own; joining and fighting in opposition forces; successfully *exiting* a place/country	Gained control; lost control; non-existent control; shared control; accepted control; simultaneous control; momentary control; fluctuating control
Establishment or closure of ad hoc	Need to resist control; need to accept	Ad hoc camps and transit camps need to	Forcing control; handing over	Leaving and/or surrendering a transit/ad hoc camp	Number of authority actors, such as rebels;	Reaching a safer camp after rebels took over a previous camp;	Regained control; lost control; gained

camps and transit camps	control; need to relinquish control; need to re-establish control	be opened and shut down due to conflict related reasons	control; stepping back from control; rebuilding control; retaining control	under the management of rebels, military forces etc.; fleeing for one's life; building or rebuilding a camp for use	distance; presence of migrants; gravity of security threats or other threats; possibility of transportation; time since a camp was last used	establishing a new camp elsewhere; establishing an old camp after a different authority takes over an area; a camp receiving a function other than migrant settlement; living in limbo due to the long-term absence of other places to settle	control; fluctuating control; momentary control; simultaneous control; accepted control; non-existent control
Limiting movement due to security	Wanting to force control; need to increase control; need to share control; need to prevent control; need to resist control; having limited or no control; dealing with forced control; agreeing to other's control	Authorities limit movement of migrants, local residents and/or other authorities in order to keep people safe; migrants wanting to be safe, thus experiencing the need to limit their own movement and/or that of others	Forcing control; claiming control; promoting control; stating control; seeing only the positive side of control; expressing control; increasing control; sharing control; doubting control; accepting control; balancing control	Limiting movement through a request for documents; authorities developing a surveillance technology; authorities conflating the image of "threat" and "migrants" to gain confidence of local residents and secure funding; building walls and fences; formulating anti-migrant policies; migrants using human smugglers to assist in border crossings; authorities prohibiting contact between particular groups in a refugee camp/settlement; local residents believing authorities without questioning the issues	Degree of authority control; type of borders and fences; availability of human smugglers and other assistance in movement; type of state (developed, underdeveloped, developing country); type of governance; financial means; means of communication; relationship between authorities, migrants and local residents; level of threat; ability to stay in place; presence	Use of increased surveillance technology and border patrol in relation to controlling borders; local residents being protected by authorities from migration "flows", "waves", "migrants" "abuse of the system" and "criminality"; presence of UN peace keepers; successful prevention of local conflicts; increased cooperation between states, authorities and local residents; successful crossing of borders despite border control; local residents feeling safe; deportation or death at a border; increased dissatisfaction; increased segregation and *negative-tagging*; migrants facing more limited possibilities	Lost control; non-existent control; forced control; possessed control; simultaneous control; momentary control; fluctuating control; decreased control; gained control; modified control; shared control; accepted control; feared control; increased control

				and the authorities themselves; mistrusting authority actions; authorities requesting surrender of guns and ammunition before people can cross a border; authorities ordering a curfew; limiting authority movement in IDP/refugee camps during particular hours; limiting walking in streets or particular neighbourhoods in order to feel safe; limiting movement of women in order to keep them safe; limiting children's movement in order to avoid kidnapping by drug dealers; waiting to see how security situation develops before making decisions on movement; responding to authorities' policies and rules by limiting one's own movement; limiting movement due to lack of legal documents required by authorities	and level of a security threat; presence of family members; cultural traditions and family roles; ability to understand and interpret; availability of information; availability of documents; types of neighbourhoods and areas near place of residence and elsewhere	for crossing borders and moving between areas; enhanced safety of migrants due to authority protection; not going outside; experiencing very limited everyday movement in space; experiencing very limited understanding of a host society; living more peacefully and safely; failed attempt to stay in place; authorities making decisions on migrant movements; feeling safer; feeling under threat; feeling one cannot decide on one's own life and movement; experiencing abuse; becoming suspicious of others; presence of mental-health problems; increase in *negative tagging*	

Safety during organised or spontaneous movement	Need to increase control; need to share control; agreeing to other's control; need to allow control; need to resist control; need to maintain control; need to relinquish control	Deciding on type of movement that is safe and possible	Claiming control; sharing control; stepping back from control; resisting control; doubting control; fearing control; increasing control	Preferring to move on one's own without organised movement, as it is considered as a faster solution to a security problem and/or a safer way to move; different migration actors discussing ways and routes of movement to understand what is safe; allowing authorities to manage one's own movement, as it is considered safer than moving on one's own; rationalising authority control in terms of safety; considering assisted movement a threat	Circumstances of conflict; abilities of authorities, migrants and others to assist and protect; emotions and previous experiences related to movements and safety; means of transportation	Presence of UN, state and other convoys, registration points, assistance points for safety and movement control; successful *multi routing* by safer means, such as airlifts; facing safety problems en route (abuse, theft etc.); safely reaching a preferred place with/without assistance; accepting authorities are in full control	Gained control; lost control; non-existent control; modified control; shared control; momentary control; simultaneous control; accepted control; impartial control
Local residents affecting safety	Need to force control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to maintain control; need to deal with forced control; need to resist control; dealing with equal control;	Safety issues in relation to local residents and migrants *local mingling* and living in the same area of residence	Forcing control; promoting control; stating control; sharing control; resisting control; accepting control; expressing control; negotiating	Local residents looting and chasing migrants; local residents beating or killing migrants; migrants fleeing or moving away from an area; migrants and local residents sharing the same space and services (for example, a school, health clinic, church); migrants complaining to authorities about local residents' behaviour;	Presence of services; presence of authorities; gravity of a threat; availability of housing and employment for local residents and migrants; unbiased/biased attitude of authorities; authority policies on housing and	Migrants settling in a safer area; local residents taking over the space and property of migrants; local residents and migrants peacefully coexisting in the same areas; authorities finding solutions to problems between migrants and local residents, thus guaranteeing better safety; migrants and authorities working together to inform local	Forced control; increased control; gained control; decreased control; lost control; shared control; simultaneous control; impartial control; equal control

	need to share control		control; dealing with obstructing control; stepping back from control; fearing control	migrants fearing the actions of local residents, which leads them to move elsewhere	other issues; attitude of local residents towards migrants; ability to interpret behaviour; availability of accurate information	residents of practical issues; escaping successfully/un-successfully from local residents for security reasons	
4.Spatial manoeuvring / Dividing space							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Privacy	Having limited or no control; need to increase control; need to deal with obstructing control; need to re-establish control; need to relinquish control	Limited or non-existent privacy due to bad planning and/or lack of possibilities to live and act in relation to space in private; authorities and migrants being spatially apart	Handing over control; resisting control; accepting control; increasing control; facilitating control; expressing control; claiming control	Organisation's staff living in different parts of a refugee camp from migrants; defining borders of a camp/settlement with trees or other landmarks; going to the toilet in an open space in front of other people; becoming aware of people's private matters and actions in shared housing; washing oneself in open or semi-open spaces; women dealing with men over issues that should be private; dealing with a lack of physical privacy;	The type of space one lives and spends time in; presence of lights, showers and locked toilets in refugee/IDP camps/settlements; hygiene in private spaces like public toilets; availability of sanitary towels; emotions; cultural traditions, presence of women/men; financial means	Increased number of rapes and attacks due to poor privacy; knowing other people's private business; an actor finding ways to exit the situation; understanding that lacking privacy is an "obligatory" part of migration and poverty; existence of challenges related to hygiene; authorities increasing lighting and providing better toilet and washing facilities in refugee/IDP camps/settlements	Accepted control; feared control; shared control; non-existent control; fluctuating control; decreased control; gained control

				migrants demanding better privacy; authorities learning to take into account the planning of space in refugee camps			
Interest in education	Need to maintain control; having limited or no control; need to share control; need to increase control; need to resist control; need to allow control; dealing with equal control; need to relinquish control	Migrants seeing education as a route to a better life; authorities needing to cope with the practical side of education; the position of local residents in education compared to that of migrants	Stating control; retaining control; facilitating control; negotiating control; resisting control; accepting control increasing control; balancing control; dealing with obstructing control; expressing control; sharing control	Migrants discussing with authorities the possibilities for building a school in an area; migrants dealing with the host society's authority policies and actions in relation to a curriculum in a particular place; local residents wanting to be part of schooling targeted at migrants, thus negotiating with authorities; authorities planning education in refugee camps/settlements/ areas of residence so that it benefits both migrants and local residents; migrants' participation in classes dependent on the location of the school; dividing school classes and levels into different areas or buildings; dividing school classes into two or three shifts due to	Distance; available premises; availability of teachers; possibilities for teaching migrants in a host society; possibilities for teaching local residents; financial means; number of students; availability of a particular class level; type of relationship between migrants, local residents and/or authorities; pros and cons of education compared to work and earning a living; availability of services; level of knowledge and	A new school built and opened to cater for migrant and local children; longer journeys to school and thus more *negative tagging*; new premises found for school; closing down a school due to problems in finding premises; host society's policies and laws preventing formulation of a suitable curriculum, thereby forcing migrant schools to follow the host society curriculum; students attending school at different times; less *link keeping* between students in different classes and spaces	Lost control; shared control; accepted control; simultaneous control; momentary control; fluctuating control; non-existent control; gained control; impartial control; regained control; possessed control

				the high number of students; dividing classes into different spaces according to knowledge and language skills; seeking new space for classes	skills of students; level of interest		
Imprisonment	Need to deal with forced control; need to share control; agreeing to other's control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to accept forced control; need to maintain control; need to relinquish control; wanting to force control; having limited or no control	Need to cope with space issues in imprisonment	Resisting control; accepting control; forcing control; preventing control; expressing control; claiming control; negotiating control; sharing control; dealing with obstructing control	Authorities dividing those punished for a crime into prison cells according to the crime; women with children being given a bed, whereas those without children sleeping on a mattress in a cell; torture being performed in solitary confinement or rooms with torture equipment, whereas those who are not tortured can be in cells; authorities having no policy in relation to the number of prisoners in a particular space so dividing space is arbitrary; prisoners taking turns in sleeping due to limited space; prisoners silently accepting space-related circumstances in order to avoid problems	Number of prisoners; ability of the host society and authorities to provide human rights; type of accusations and punishments; size of a prison; size of a cell; emotions related to unfair trials; availability of lawyers and legal counsel; emotions like fear of torture and other mistreatment; characteristics of other prisoners; age, sex, religion; available information and human rights courses	Migrants facing torture and abuse when authorities are dissatisfied; prisoners encouraging each other in difficult situations, thus helping them survive the ordeal; continuing to face challenges in hygiene and nutrition; prisoners suffering from sicknesses; death; suffering from lack of sleep; being abused by other prisoners; authorities being in complete control; enjoying better treatment and living conditions when obeying the authorities; a mother doing her best to care for a child in prison; increasing mental and/or physical health problems; Migrants struggling to cope with freedom-related space issues after release from a long period of incarceration (for example suffering from panic attacks)	Lost control; non-existent control; forced control; shared control; fluctuating control; accepted control; feared control; equal control; decreased control

According to belonging to a group	Need to deal with forced control; having limited or no control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to understand control; need to maintain control; need to increase control; agreeing to other's control; need to maintain control; need to allow control; need to re-establish control	Space divided according membership of different types of groups	Claiming control; negotiating control; dealing with obstructing control; accepting control; increasing control; preventing control; expressing control; fearing control; facilitating control; stepping back from control; seeing only the positive side of control; handing over control; stating control; forcing control	UNHCR and IOM staff or other authorities comprise one migration-actor group, whereas migrants constitute an opposing group (visible in dividing space where a space is accessible to one group but not to the other group); property owners showing migrants dwellings that are unsuitable for housing local residents, as they are only considered appropriate for poor people; a migrant dealing with feelings created by an unwanted person from a particular ethnic group living next door in place of asylum; newcomers to a refugee camp being placed in a house for new-arrivals; newcomers to a refugee settlement being shown a particular plot where they can build a house and start cultivating; migrants not questioning authority	Particular status, ethnic, age or religious group; level of poverty; level of frustration; length of status determination process; previous experiences of disagreements, conflict and killings; types of relationships between authorities, migrants and/or local residents; distance between places; attitude of authorities; attitude of local residents; productivity of land; presence of other ethnic, religious or rival groups in the area; emotions like fear or relief; time of arrival; accessibility of services	Reaching breaking point in difficult circumstances; conflicts between UNHCR staff and migrants; occurrence of demonstrations/protests; suffering from injuries; death; migrants living in higher/lower floors than local residents; continuing to do one's best to cope with living next to an enemy; moving away as enemy is living next door; migrants feeling their lives started afresh through living in a new place which is divided in an organised matter; feeling dissatisfaction with how space is divided (for example others receiving better crops or better access to places); trusting/mistrusting authority; lacking important information due to distance from an area of residence to a centre; hierarchy due to time of arrival among migrants; authorities able to organise housing and living in a refugee/IDP settlement/camp; migrants being attacked by authorities/local	Lost control; accepted control; non-existent control; gained control; feared control; decreased control; regained control; modified control; impartial control; shared control; equal control

				control over where they will live; organising housing and cultivation in a settlement so that there is peaceful coexistence between groups; resettled refugees being designated housing where it is available; resettled refugees attempting to cope with understanding the location of their present place of residence and that of others from their group; inability of the authorities to assist migrants in finding an area of residence in an urban centre, thus causing groups of migrants to sleep in the grounds of an organisation /police station/under restaurant verandas; migrants protesting against their placement in an area as it is worse than an area occupied by others		residents due to lack of adequate housing; migrants feeling equal in area of residence	

1.Establishing a new normal/ Cultural customising							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Cultural products, traditions and related behaviour	Need to maintain control; having limited or no control; need to increase control; need to prevent control; need to share control; need to relinquish control; need to maintain a control equilibrium; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; need to accept forced control; need to diminish other's control; need to demonstrate	Generations behaving differently and understanding cultural traditions and products in different ways; finding a suitable balance between old and new ways of life; struggling to be accepted	Claiming control; sharing control; promoting control; stating control; facilitating control; doubting control; expressing control; fearing control; balancing control; resisting control; dealing with obstructing control; negotiating control; accepting control; stepping back from control; seeing only	Parents teaching their children about their own ethnic language; cooking familiar food; celebrating festivals and traditions from a particular place; passing on stories and knowledge of one's own ethnic group and place of origin; attempting to survive/seek ways to move away, as differences between old and new cultural traditions and products are so great that life is difficult; migrants visiting houses for Bible reading; migrants considering whether to continue traditions; authorities providing premises and finance for teaching and cultural activities; migrants trying to be like local residents (for example dressing like	Ability to gain authority support; availability of teachers; level of interest in keeping old traditions and language alive; attitude of children; level of acceptance of new traditions and way of life; possibilities for visiting place of origin; age, gender, religion; level of differences in traditions and ways of life between place of origin and place of asylum/transit/ resettlement; availability of information; laws and policies of different places	Migrants are successful in passing on old traditions and cultural products; combining some old and new traditions in everyday life; parents not teaching their own ethnic language and children's strongest language becoming that of the resettlement country; migrants viewing new cultural products as better and more useful than old ones; acceptance of changes in traditions; struggling with everything new; feeling lost; inability to celebrate festivals due to lack of money; continuing lack of acceptance of migrants by local residents; local residents failing to understand behaviour of migrants; children respecting particular traditions and culture; a person behaving more like a local resident than a person from his/her own	Rebuilt control; shared control; lost control; decreased control; modified control; fluctuating control ; accepted control; non-existent control; impartial control; momentary control; simultaneous control; gained control; regained control; forced control; feared control

	who is in control; need to force control; need to understand control; need to allow control		the positive side of control; forcing control; increasing control; skipping control	local residents, using alcohol); placing street children in foster families of the same ethnic group; schools and authorities trying to help migrant youth find their place in a new society; authorities attempting to affect resettlement decisions because they consider that migrants should be resettled in a place closer to their own culture; calling a community together to solve problems related to behaviour; trying to understand and adopt new behaviour (including giving up physical punishment of children); protesting against/accepting another generation's behaviour; a neighbour not welcoming a new neighbour from a different cultural or ethnic background; authorities teaching migrants about a new time concept; an authority denying a person participation in a meeting for being	and countries; financial means; ability to understand the need for change; ability to interpret issues related to host society related; ability to resist change; ability to understand time; emotions towards authorities; means of communication; means of transportation; ability to read	ethnic group or community; authorities engaging in *negative tagging* and behaving unprofessionally; community addressing the behaviour of its members; community considering a member an outcast due to unacceptable behaviour; a person following new rules and laws; abandoning traditions and expectations; understanding the need for a change; accepting a new time concept; failing to get business done because of resistance to a new time concept and missing appointments; feeling one is being controlled	

				repeatedly late; a person making an effort to be on time			
Interaction between men and women	Need to resist control; wanting to force control; having limited or no control; need to increase control; taking advantage of increased control; need to prevent control; need to deal with forced control; desire to diminish other's control; agreeing to other's control; dealing with equal control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to maintain control; need to re-establish control; need	Coping with interaction between men, women, girls and boys	Increasing control; forcing control; expressing control; balancing control; resisting control; preventing control; negotiating control; accepting control; stepping back from control; dealing with obstructing control; doubting control; fearing control	Accepting that authorities and the laws of the asylum/resettlement country determine the course of action in situations previously determined by local councils and leaders following place of origin traditions; adults not marrying children; NGOs raising awareness of proper age for marriage, contraception etc.; not marrying more than one person; parents threatening – out of fear they will marry a local resident and forget their place of origin and family – to send children back to their country of origin if they do not stop dating a local boy/girl; taking advantage of new laws and rules to promote one's own rights; applying for divorce; agreeing with others about new rules for a dowry; limiting	Age, sex, religion; level of differences in traditions and ways of life between place of origin and place of asylum/transit/ resettlement; availability of information; laws and policies of different places and countries; financial means; ability to understand need for change; ability to interpret issues related to host society	Understanding that a tradition has to change; understanding that a tradition has to change but still following the old tradition in a new place of residence; a dowry being sent to another place or paid later; NGOs struggling to change traditions; changing personal behaviour to follow new laws and policies; having no understanding of the behaviour of local residents; leaving a new way of life in order to return to the traditions expected by parents/ethnic community/spouse; new role as an outcast from the community due to noncompliance with rules (premarital sex, interacting with the opposite sex etc.)	Gained control; modified control; accepted control; lost control; non-existent control; decreased control; simultaneous control; momentary control; fluctuating control; feared control; forced control; overlapping control

	to relinquish control			movement of girls; girls and boys dating in spite of its being "taboo"; living together with a girl/boyfriend; still having a big family/deciding to have a small family; silently accepting behaviour of men; premarital sex; dealing with obstacles in relation to becoming pregnant before marriage; women welcoming male guests without husband being present			
Changes in personal development	Need to deal with obstructing control; dealing with equal control; taking advantage of increased control; need to allow control; having limited or no control	Dealing with changes in personal development issues due to differing levels of education, work experience, and respect for text/oral-based cultures in different places	Dealing with obstructing control; claiming control; accepting control; resisting control; facilitating control; doubting control; promoting control; increasing control;	Competing in job market with local residents; employer failing to take into account previous education or work experience gained in another place; encouraging others to adopt a new way of life in order to succeed in a new place; trying to manage at different levels of education with different teaching and learning methods	Ability to understand the local way of life and cultural traditions in a host society; level of language skills; education and employment background; position in society; age, sex, religion; mental-health problems; policies and laws of host country; literacy/illiteracy	Inability to obtain a job due to lack of language, employment and education skills; success in everyday life; struggling with daily difficulties in school teaching; increased mental-health problems and substance-abuse problems	Gained control; modified control; accepted control; non-existent control; fluctuating control; feared control

			handing over control				
2.Establishing a new normal / Family-role adjusting							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Adult and child relationships	Having limited or no control; taking advantage of increased control; need to diminish other's control; need to deal with one's own diminished control; need to prevent control; need to share control; dealing with equal control; need to allow control; need to maintain control; need to re-establish control; need to relinquish control	Adults and children needing to deal with decision-making power and an understanding of events in their life in a new environment	Claiming control; resisting control; preventing control; negotiating control; accepting control; dealing with obstructing control; seeing only the positive side of control; fearing control; handing over control; expressing control; increasing control; sharing control	A child taking advantage of a parent/guardian's ignorance of the life and infrastructure of a host society; children making their own decisions; children being uninterested in the advice of a parent or elder; a child disobeying parents/guardians; a parent/guardian trying to cope with handling a child's problems related to society, school or employment; indifference on the part of a parent/guardian to the actions of a child, as the adult is struggling with his/her own problems; a parent/guardian allowing authorities to take care of her/his	Ability to understand a host society and the way of life there; ability to handle disagreements; availability of support networks; means of communication between a family's adults, children and teachers; mental-health problems; level of determination	Rebelling against old traditions by moving out of family home; parents hearing from others about where their children spend time; children getting into trouble; disappearance of support networks, leading to parents/guardians dealing with difficulties on their own; a rift between parents/guardians and children; parents/guardians opposing teachers, who they consider have too much control, as children turn to them not to the family's adults in case of difficulties; children being responsible for adult matters; unaccompanied minors and youth failing to succeed due to lack of support from family	Gained control; modified control; shared control; lost control; non-existent control; feared control; impartial control; accepted control; momentary control; simultaneous control; decreased control

				child; a child being used to interpret and take care of adult matters, as a family's adult is unable to deal with authorities in a new language or is ignorant of the way issues are dealt with in a new society; children and youth without parents attempting to cope with new circumstances alone			
Changing gender roles	Need to accept forced control; need to increase control; need to maintain control; need to understand control; need to maintain a control equilibrium; need to share control; having limited or no control	Realities of a place and survival needs forcing men and women to accept or reject roles not present in their place of origin; children adopting roles that are not present in their place of origin	Accepting control; stepping back from control; resisting control; doubting control; sharing control; balancing control; fearing control; handing over control; dealing with obstructing control	In contrast to their place of origin, men taking care of household and children while women work outside home; following the expected gender roles in host society; men returning to traditional ways of life when entering a resettlement country; boys doing "girls'" jobs like laundry and other chores at home/girls doing "boys'" jobs like taking care of money; those migrants who want to follow traditional roles deliberately complicating the life of migrants who want to	Possibilities for employment, childcare etc.; attitude of family members and other people; financial means; expected length of stay in a place; feelings of envy; ability to understand the host society; ability to accept new way of life	A person accepting changes in gender roles due to financial needs; a person returning to the old gender roles in the place of origin; children adopting new gender roles to gain better acceptance from local children; disagreements between migrants due to different ways of implementing gender roles in practice; authority involvement in migrants' gender-role problems	Decreased control; accepted control; gained control; forced control; fluctuating control; non-existent control

				accept the host society's gender roles			
3.Establishing a new normal / Being surrounded by the unfamiliar							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Physical environment	Need to deal with one's own diminished control; need to maintain control; having limited or no control	A migrant worrying about an unfamiliar environment and survival there before arriving in place of asylum/transit /resettlement /destination; migrants gaining a true picture about the environment after arrival in a place	Sharing control; claiming control; facilitating control; accepting control; doubting control	Reading about place of resettlement/asylum/ transit/destination, listening to others' stories and/or learning on a cultural orientation course to understand where one is going; authorities organising cultural orientation courses; fearing snow and cold due to others' stories about surviving in a harsh environment – doubting survival; becoming mentally prepared to encounter dangerous animals while living in a new place; considering a new place similar to one's place of origin or previous place	Weather; seasons, darkness; flora and fauna; soundscape; age; ability to distinguish between reality and imagination; availability of information; feelings of fear; availability of support from local residents and authorities	Appreciation that the environment is better than expected; enjoying snow and cold; feeling happy about being in a place which feels familiar; being disappointed with the new environment; wanting to move elsewhere	Gained control; possessed control; accepted control; lost control; non-existent control; decreased control
Interaction between migration actors	Need to change prevailing	Migration actors failing to understand	Sharing control; resisting	Migrant parents coping with a medical doctor diagnosing nothing is	Language skills; age, gender, religion;	Gradually learning how to function in unfamiliar settings; feeling lost,	Lost control; non-existent control; gained

	control; need to increase control; having limited or no control; need to understand control; need to relinquish control; need to allow control; need to demonstrate who is in control	what others say and mean or how they act; challenges in bureaucracy	control; preventing control; stepping back from control; doubting control; promoting control; dealing with obstructing control; accepting control; forcing control; claiming control; retaining control	wrong/ something is very wrong with a child by worrying more/finding information/ protesting; migrant parents increasing their own fear by thinking that the government of a resettlement country will take custody of their children if they do something wrong or behave in a strange way; migrants attempting to understand source of financial support; ascertaining the facts/talking to others; not doing anything to understand others; migrants becoming more frustrated/seeking help due to an inability to cope with authorities because of ignorance of the language, bureaucratic processes or his/her own status; migrants using interpreters in order to understand; local residents coping with unknown migrants and	availability of information; ability to understand host society, bureaucracy and way of life; availability of support networks; similarity of places; laws, policies and politics; level of local residents' interest in migrants and ability to feel empathy; level of *negative tagging*	confused and out of place; needing to move away; increasing mental health problems; living in fear; conflicts between migrants and authorities/local residents	control; momentary control; fluctuating control; decreased control; feared control; forced control

				their "strange" way of life and/or different appearance through threats, getting to know them, engaging in *negative tagging*			
Changing surroundings	Having limited or no control; need to allow control; need to increase control	Dealing with first impressions of unfamiliar; starting from zero	Claiming control; sharing control; resisting control; accepting control; dealing with obstructing control; rebuilding control	An actor deciding that a place (for example of asylum/resettlement/ employment) is good for learning a new way of life but there will be a subsequent need to move elsewhere to secure a better job or education; coping with life in a new place one dislikes through personal activities; coping with life in a new place which resembles one's home/place of origin; trying to see something good in a place which one dislikes; criticising a place for lacking opportunities for personal development or a good future; dealing with unfamiliarity through emotions; sharing experiences of a new place with others in the same situation;	Level of differences between the new place and previous places/place of origin; ability to adapt; emotions; previous education and employment experiences; support networks; laws, policies, politics; financial means	Negative expectations becoming positive experiences through increased security, more space and/or a higher standard of living; an actor realising the possibilities for personal development and the future after the unfamiliar becomes familiar, and a better understanding arises about the place and the way of life; staying in place; gaining new knowledge; feeling happy to be in a place which feels like one's place of origin; continuing to feel dissatisfied with life and a place; feeling one is living in limbo with no way out; struggling to cope; being assisted by other migrants	Gained control; shared control; modified control; accepted control; lost control; non-existent control; momentary control; fluctuating control

				homeless children seeking ways to cope with practicalities of living on the street; a migrant seeking employment/ education with or without help from other migrants; protesting against forced relocation			
1.Re-rooting home / Reality checking							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Change in conditions in place of origin/home	Need to share control; taking advantage of increased control; need to resist control; need to maintain control; need to understand control; need to re-establish control; need to relinquish control	Dealing with changes in place of origin/home (for example a conflict ending or worsening and thus the security situation changing; the need for assistance and development)	Sharing control; promoting control; fearing control; accepting control; doubting control; rebuilding control	Considering advantages and disadvantages of *re-rooting home*; making the decision about *re-rooting home*; returning to place of origin/home; staying in place of asylum/transit/ resettlement; *re-rooting home* for the sake of children so they can learn about their roots; return to prevent enemy access; need to return for funerals; desire to return for business	Information available on the situation of place of origin/home; inability to forgive what previously occurred in place of origin/home; pressure for return; emotions related to place of origin/home; a welcoming community in place of origin/home; ethnic group; level of real peace in place of origin/home;	Return to place of origin/home: Successfully assisting/failing to assist local people; struggling with circumstances; contributing to peace and area development; enjoying spiritual and physical freedom; following one's own traditions and using one's own language; feeling welcome; feeling out of place; staying in a familiar environment; feeling in better health; defending one's own place against an enemy; making a living	Shared control; non-existent control; lost control; regained control; decreased control; gained control; momentary control; fluctuating control

					possibilities for making a living; language and cultural skills; citizenship issues; place of origin/home becoming a new state	Continuing to think about *re-rooting home* while staying in a place of asylum/transit/resettlement; finding out more about the circumstances in one's place of origin/home; feeling out of place; feeling dissatisfied with life	
Conditions elsewhere	Need to increase control; need to resist control; need to deal with one's own diminished control; need to deal with forced control; need to re-establish control	Dealing with a dissatisfying life in place other than that of origin/home (for example, no personal development or opportunities for making a living or owning land, housing; *negative tagging* or worsening security; social and political challenges related to a host society); enjoying a better life in place other than of	Claiming control; promoting control; resisting control; accepting control; fearing control; dealing with obstructing control; doubting control; seeing only the positive side of control	Finding ways to travel to place of origin/home by legal/illegal means; looking at other options in the current place of residence; making the decision on *re-rooting home*; leaving the place of asylum/ transit/employment/ resettlement; deciding to visit place of origin/home but then returning to current place of residence; deciding to return even when the situation in place of origin/home is poor; no need to *re-root home*	Level of *negative tagging*; possibilities for employment, education, health care, owning land, housing, nutrition etc. in place of asylum/transit/ resettlement; ability to understand; ability to interpret; information available; possibilities for organised or spontaneous return; ethnic group	Staying in current place of residence: Becoming more frustrated; accepting inability to *re-root home*; continuing to seek ways to leave current place of residence; being satisfied with life in place of asylum/transit/ employment/ resettlement; staying in place to provide children with an education Returning to place of origin/home: Visiting place of origin/home and then returning to current place of residence; visiting place of origin/home and then, contrary to plans, remaining there; visiting place of origin but realising that *re-rooting home* is impossible and thus moving elsewhere; staying in place of	Possessed control; accepted control; lost control; non-existent control; regained control; forced control; shared control

		origin/home: being better off in another place than place of origin; no interest in starting life "from zero"; need to return to place of origin /home due to family's situation in the place of migration				origin/home even when the situation is bad, as it is also bad elsewhere	
Psychological challenges	Need to increase control; need to share control; need to resist control; need to maintain a control equilibrium; having limited or no control; desire to diminish other's control; need to allow control	Missing place of origin and people there; positive and negative feelings related to place of origin, experiences, culture and people there; feeling that neither place of origin nor current place of residence provide a good life; feeling of	Sharing control; promoting control; resisting control; preventing control; accepting control; rebuilding control; dealing with obstructing control	Finding ways to be in contact with loved ones; finding ways to *re-root home*; attempting to cope with feelings when *re-rooting home* is impossible; not wanting to *re-root home* in order to avoid reliving traumas; handling traumas with psychological assistance	Ability to cope with difficult situations; ability to understand; ability to interpret; strength of emotions; means of communication; knowledge of whereabouts of loved ones; level of children's knowledge about their roots; place of origin becoming a new state	Suffering from mental-health problems; being unhappy about life; being in connection with loved ones; seeing no prospect of a decent future; staying in a place after moving there to find a better future; feeling hopeful/dissatisfied about children learning about their roots; feeling confused and not knowing what to do	Non-existent control; lost control; gained control; modified control; possessed control; shared control; momentary control; fluctuating control

		being in exile for too long					
2.Re-rooting home / Hindsighting							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Remaining in place of origin during conflict	Need to deal with forced control; need to accept forced control; desire to diminish other's control; need to relinquish control	Authorities harassing local residents; authorities killing local residents; authorities chasing local residents away	Would have had to accept (authority) control; would have had to resist (authority) control; would have had to prevent (authority) control; would have had to step back from control; would have had to fear control; would have had to deal with obstructing control	Would have hidden; would have done nothing; would have tried to flee	Ability to stay alive; ability to negotiate; level and number of attacks and authority harassment	Would have been dead; would have been harassed by authorities; would have faced difficulties with many aspects of life (housing, work, personal development etc.); would have been forced to marry; would have been forced to interrupt schooling	Lost control; non-existent control; accepted control; feared control; forced control
Remaining in place of asylum	Need to accept forced control; need to allow control; need to relinquish	Facing difficult circumstances ; having no possibilities to improve life;	Would have had to resist control; would have had to accept (authority's	Would have had to live a difficult life; would have had to keep dealing with *negative tagging* and authority harassment; would	*Negative tagging*; opportunities to obtain employment, schooling, health care etc.;	Life would have continued being difficult; would have had no personal development; would have had no possibility of schooling or employment;	Non-existent control; increased control; lost control; possessed

	control; having limited or no control; no need to change the prevailing control	living a good life	and local residents') control; would have had to see only the positive side of control; would have had to fear control; would have had to step back from control; would have had to claim control	have had to protest against circumstances and treatment; would have had to keep seeking ways of escaping the situation; would have continued to live a better life than in resettlement	emotions; location of place of residence; mental and physical health	would have been working long hours; would not have had a good future; would have had better employment or personal development opportunities; would have been forced to return to place of origin even if circumstances there were challenging; would have acquired skills that benefit *re-rooting home* at some stage	control; momentary control; fluctuating control; decreased control
Remaining in place of origin during peace	Need to maintain a control equilibrium; need to maintain control; need to share control; agreeing to other's control	Continuing to live life as normal	Would have had to share control; would have had to accept control; would have had to facilitate control; would have had to see only the positive side of control; would have had to express control; would have had to negotiate control	Would have been talking to neighbours; would have been spending time with family; would have been continuing schooling and/or work; would have married; would have raised children; would have built a house; would have been travelling to see other people	Location of place of residence; opportunities for employment, schooling, health care etc.; presence of family members, friends and relatives; traditions in relation to marriage, family etc.	A migrant would have been surrounded by loved ones; would have received a job and had a career; would have graduated from school; would have owned a car; would have owned land; would have enjoyed life; there would have been a better life; would not have known about other places; would not have known other languages; would not have understood other communities and people with different ways of life; would not have known how to use media and technology; would have been forced to marry;	Shared control; accepted control; equal control; gained control; impartial control; increased control; possessed control; simultaneous control; lacking control; forced control; lost control; non-existent control

						would have been forced to live without education; would have been forced to bear many children and take care of family	
3.Re-rooting home / Practical reckoning							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Organised return	Need to share control; need to allow control; need to increase control; dealing with equal control; need to maintain control; need to relinquish control; need to re-establish control; need to deal with forced control	Migration actors needing to cope with organised return	Sharing control; claiming control; forcing control; accepting control; doubting control; handing over control; resisting control; facilitating control; negotiating control; stepping back from control	Authorities building a programme with organised logistics, information dissemination, assistance packages, surveys and funding; migrants waiting for organised return as distance is long or routes unsafe; authorities organising go-and-see visits; dividing tasks between authorities and migrants; authorities ascertaining the situation of local residents and migrants; finding out about the situation of local residents in areas where migrants are leaving to return home; ascertaining the situation in various	Funding obtained; information obtained; level of conflicts; level of security; the emotions of returnees and local residents and their criticism and objections; level and clarity of the division of labour among authorities; mental and physical challenges; distance between places; type of route; authorities' ability to take into account both returnees and local residents; authorities' ability to take into	Migrants receiving assistance (transportation, food, non-food items etc.); migrants becoming frustrated with authority actions or the lack of them; local residents welcoming/failing to welcome returnees; local residents no longer having functioning infrastructure after migrants leave the area; authorities enjoying smooth co-operation among themselves/facing difficulties in duty sharing; halting organised return due to circumstances (new conflict, weather etc.); successfully organised return	Shared control; increased control; lost control; non-existent control; decreased control; simultaneous control; fluctuating control; overlapping control; rebuilt control; possessed control; impartial control

				geographical areas of (possible) return; local residents requiring assistance after migrants have left the area; local residents attempting to come to terms with the significance of large numbers of people returning to their area	account local residents in places from which returnees are leaving; accessibility of place of origin and other places; weather/seasons; local residents' determination to retain infrastructure in the area after migrants leave		
Spontaneous return	Need to increase control; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; need to divide one's own control; need to allow control; need to re-establish control; need to relinquish control	Migration actors needing to cope with spontaneous return	Claiming control; sharing control; dealing with forced control; doubting control; forcing control; negotiating control; dealing with obstructing control; seeing only the positive side of control; expressing	Migrants returning to a place on their own, as the distance is short or the route is considered safe; migrants returning spontaneously even if there may be problems, as they are unwilling to wait for organised return; migrants organising their own go-and-see visits; migrants performing partial *re-rooting home*; local residents requiring assistance after migrants have left the area; local residents attempting to come to terms with the	Mental and physical challenges; distance between places; type of route; accessibility of place of origin and other places; weather/seasons; local residents' determination to retain infrastructure in the area after migrants leave; the emotions of returnees and /local residents; level of security and peace	Losing property en route; being abused en route; returning safely; partial *re-rooting home* for business or "development"; arriving in one's place of origin and realising that one's house and/or land has been seized; local residents welcoming returnees; local residents protesting and failing to accept returnees, due to the suffering involved; leadership conflicts; local residents being left with a working infrastructure or a weakened infrastructure compared to when migrants lived in the area	Increased control; lost control; non-existent control; simultaneous control; fluctuating control; overlapping control; rebuilt control; modified control; decreased control; feared control; accepted control

			control; fearing control	implications of large numbers of people returning to their area			
Wait-and-see	Need to increase control; need to share control; need to maintain a control equilibrium; need to maintain control; having limited or no control	Migration actors needing to wait and see what will happen in relation to return	Sharing control; doubting control; promoting control; handing over control; balancing control	Learning about results of go-and-see visits; waiting until a family member has built a dwelling in a place of origin; dealing with increased interest in one's own return, as many are *re-rooting home* from abroad; thinking about *re-rooting home* in order to contribute to "development" and business	Distance; type of route; accessibility of place of origin and other places; information available; political events (like elections); ability to trust people and authorities	Migrants making a decision to *re-root home* when there is strong evidence of peace, "development", good infrastructure and/or adequate services; authorities implementing organised return when the situation allows; no possibilities for organised return; being forced to remain in place as there is no possibility of *re-rooting home*; waiting longer to see how the situation develops	Gained control; possessed control; non-existent control; impartial control; momentary control; decreased control; fluctuating control; equal control
1.Problem confronting / Self sustaining							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Migrants' skills	Need to re-establish control; need to increase control; taking advantage of increased control; need to share control; need	Seeking to use one's own skills while participating in migration; need to obtain new skills	Claiming control; sharing control; stating control; expressing control; accepting control;	Working hard during day, studying at night in order to cope with living costs and skills development; making an effort to understand the functioning of the workplace in order to obtain promotion; playing along with	Type of employment, employee or authority; level of skills; ability to understand and interpret; availability of support networks;	Successful/failed *re-rooting home* in order to be able to use one's own skills; obtaining a promotion at work; receiving a course certificate; securing a job; being unemployed; being forced to flee before receiving a certificate for	Gained control; rebuilt control; possessed control; shared control; decreased control; lost control; non-existent

	to maintain a control equilibrium		dealing with obstructing control; facilitating control; promoting control; rebuilding control; seeing only the positive side of control	workplace rules in order to achieve a goal; seeking a good superior to develop better skills; applying for a vocational training programme to secure a better future; building personal confidence and determination through learning skills; seeking new ways to use one's own skills; migrants surrendering their own job to someone who needs it more, as they can find another job through their own skills; learning to read and write	possibility of receiving an education; financial means; length of time at work; level of self-confidence; imagination; ability to cope with difficulties	studies or skills; inadequacy or poor match of one's own skills in a resettlement country, thus leading to an inability to compete in the labour market; becoming literate	control; momentary control; equal control
Working to earn money	Need to increase control; need to share control; need to deal with forced control; need to accept forced control; need to maintain control; need to allow control; having limited	Working in different types of circumstances to satisfy need for money	Negotiating control; accepting control; dealing with obstructing control; stating control; sharing control; facilitating control; promoting control; increasing	A migrant continuing to work in difficult circumstances and/or looking for jobs to be able to pay, for example, for children's schooling; children looking for someone to take care of them, as their parents have died and they are too young to work in a proper job; accepting any job in order to obtain money; a migrant asking an employer for	Distance between place of work and home; *negative tagging*; characteristics of an employer; type of land; availability of loans; skills; health; traditional gender roles; ability to negotiate and find work; availability of support from	Obtaining money and thus being able to keep children in school; no work, thus no schooling for children; a migrant having work and receiving money and thus being able to do what s/he wants; street children being beaten by local residents or authorities; local residents receiving higher pay than migrants; migrants continuing to participate in internships and employment courses	Lost control; non-existent control; decreased control; gained control; regained control; modified control; shared control; momentary control; fluctuating control

	or no control; need to resist control		control; rebuilding control; handing over control	extra work in order to receive more money; an organisation recruiting refugees to teaching posts to assist them in making a living; an organisation granting a loan after refugees finish a personal skills training course; investing money in a sewing machine in order to make a living; selling home-made handicraft for money; taking advantage of a peaceful period in an area by opening a restaurant to earn money; exploiting the good economic situation of a state; resettled refugees criticising a resettlement state for failing to provide work and fair opportunities for those who want to work rather than receive benefits; street children having no possibility of working and thus stealing from houses, people's pockets or cars; asking for work from every	various organisations; employment policies, laws and rules; childcare possibilities	but failing to secure a paid job; a migrant continuing to work long days without proper holidays; an organisation completing a project, thereby reducing/increasing migrants' opportunities for making a living	

				possible person; a migrant from an urban environment becoming a farmer in a rural refugee settlement in order to survive; migrants and local residents criticising internships and/or employment courses which do not pay, do not lead to proper employment and/or are poorly planned			
Employee-employer relationship	Having limited or no control; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; desire to diminish other's control; need to increase control; wanting to force control; need to demonstrate who is in control; need to accept forced control; need to maintain control; need	Dealing with employee-employment relationship	Dealing with obstructing control; stepping back from control; resisting control; preventing control; claiming control; increasing control; stating control; expressing control; forcing control; promoting control; fearing control;	A migrant working long hours without free-time in a poorly paid job under a tough employer in order to cope with living costs; a migrant seeking ways to change jobs due to a bad employer; an employee resigning from a bad job and/or escaping an abusive employer; an employee attempting to cope with mental health problems caused by an employer by rationalising problems as part of (forced) migration experience; a migrant calling employers in order to obtain a job;	Financial means; existing employment policies, laws and rules; gender roles; age, religion, sex; distance between place of residence and work; characteristics of an employer/ employee; level of mental and physical health problems; availability of support networks; availability of support in employment matters; marital	A migrant continuing to work in a harsh environment without workers' and/or human rights; a migrant experiencing exhaustion, sicknesses and/or death due to circumstances at work; an employee successfully finding another job after resigning from a previous job; a migrant struggling with living costs and supporting family after resigning; a migrant being hired for a job; an employer continuing to exploit his/her employees; an employee avoiding charges after injuring or killing a migrant employee; an employer	Decreased control; non-existent control; lost control; accepted control; regained control; feared control; forced control; equal control; possessed control; modified control; momentary control; simultaneous control; fluctuating control

	to relinquish control; need to allow control; dealing with equal control		skipping control	an employer refusing to pay an employee to save costs and show his/her control; an employer abusing or killing an employee out of dissatisfaction with him/her; an employer accusing an employee of stealing as a pretext for dismissal; an employer failing to provide an employee with proper insurance or benefits to save costs and time; an employer treating all employees equally in order to encourage good work performances and satisfied employees	status; size of family a migrant must support; level of expenses such as medicine, housing, food etc.	taking into account the special needs of an employee and thus the employee working successfully	
Employment-related policies, rules, and authority behaviour	Having limited or no control; need to increase control; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; dealing with equal control; need to accept forced control; need	A need to deal with host area's employment policies, rules and authority actions	Resisting control; facilitating control; preventing control; negotiating control; stepping back from control; doubting control; dealing with obstructing control;	Authorities siding with employers in cases of abuse or murder of an employee, and thus not prosecuting employers for their crimes in order to benefit financially and/or otherwise; a soldier stealing migrant's tools or equipment (for example a sewing machine) in order to make life difficult;	Characteristics of an authority; ability to understand and interpret; emotions like frustration, fear, dissatisfaction; acceptance of corruption; ability to protest; type of land; level of interest in seeking employment in	A migrant being unable to continue work after an authority has seized her/his equipment, thus causing the migrant to struggle to earn a living; some migrants obtaining fertile land for farming and others failing to receive good land; migrants being dependent on food assistance; migrants participating in consecutive internships due to employment	Lost control; non- existent control; impartial control; gained control; possessed control; accepted control; momentary control; fluctuating control;

	to maintain control; need to relinquish control; wanting to force control		stating control; expressing control; retaining control; fearing control; accepting control	authorities distributing land for cultivation; to promote their own actions and avoid problems, employers exploiting migrants' position as undocumented immigrants and threatening them with authority involvement if they complain about the work or their situation; migrants attempting to obtain work despite employment policies and authority behaviour; migrants protesting against authorities' lack of ability to offer adequate courses to provide the skills and language learning necessary to cope in the labour market with highly qualified local residents; migrants participating in compulsory courses to integrate into a host society and/or receive financial support; protesting against or discussing policies which are unfair and	difficult circumstances; difference in education and skills between migrants and/or local residents; type of government; availability of qualified teachers	policies and authority actions and still being unable to obtain proper work; migrants staying home as they are unable to compete with local residents in labour market; a migrant failing to learn necessary skills and/or language, as courses offered by authorities are ineffective; a migrant being unable to impact an employment policy or authority actions, thus leading to extreme frustration; a migrant considering his/her position equal to that of other migrants	decreased control

				unequal between migrants and/or local residents			
2.Problem confronting / Staying healthy							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Mental health	Having limited or no control; need to resist control; need to deal with forced control; wanting to force control; need to increase control; need to resist forced control; need to share control; agreeing to other's control; need to accept forced control; need to allow control; need to maintain control; need	Experiencing mental-health-related problems	Claiming control; sharing control; forcing control; resisting control; preventing control; facilitating control; accepting control; expressing control; fearing control; handing over control	Due to a lack of functioning infrastructure to deal with sick migrants, a migrant community placing the child of a mentally ill parent in a foster family in in order to guarantee the child a good life; a migrant whose spouse is suffering from mental health problems travelling to find relatives of that spouse in order to obtain help; authorities providing psychological counselling and support for sick migrants; authorities referring a sick patient to a centre for torture survivors; sick migrants starting to use alcohol or drugs to cope with their worsening situation; sick migrants	Presence of medical assistance; support networks; availability of medicine; policies and laws on health matters; legal status of a migrant; information available; awareness-raising and courses on health issues; level and/or type of torture, abuse and killing; emotions like fear; the speed problems can be dealt with; authority demands; availability of alcohol and/or drugs; male-	Sick migrants accepting the actions of their community; a migrant community caring for children who are taken into custody due to their parent's mental health problems; mental health problems becoming greater through lack of treatment; death; sick migrants wanting their children to be returned to them but being forced to accept authority decisions; sick migrants being jailed for their actions; a migrant being unable to accept work/placement for education due to mental health problems; migrants being afraid to go outside because they fear attacks from a mentally disturbed migrant; a sick migrant becoming relatively healthy; an increase in	Lost control; non- existent control; momentary control; shared control; accepted control; rebuilt control; forced control; decreased control; possessed control

	to relinquish control			becoming scared of authorities and thus failing to seek help and attempting to survive on their own; an authority taking a child into care due to the mental health problems of a parent; migrants who have fled their place of origin trying not to think about what is happening to family and relatives at the hands of authorities back home; migrants attempting to forget how an innocent men died helping them; a church forming counselling groups to deal with the problems of domestic violence and alcoholism among migrant families; a migrant with mental health problems resisting others' help; authorities forcing migrants with problems to accept health care	female relationships; living conditions; financial means; medical doctors' education and attitude; distance between places	mental pressure leading to incapacitation	
Physical health	Having limited or no control; need to share control; need	Experiencing physical-health-related problems	Resisting control; facilitating control;	Disabled migrants protesting against the need to limit their movement by moving	Amount of food available; availability of food assistance;	A disabled migrant having a better opportunity for movement than in the previous place of	Gained control; rebuilt control; non-existent

	to accept forced control; agreeing to other's control; need to relinquish control; need to resist control		stepping back from control; accepting control; stating control; rebuilding control; forcing control; sharing control	away from their current place of residence; disabled migrants accepting others' assistance in order to cope with everyday life; disabled migrants recognising that they are failing to live a decent life in the place of asylum and thus striving, despite the difficulties, to be resettled; a migrant community assisting handicapped people in order help them cope with various challenges; authorities providing torture victims with medical assistance in order to ease their suffering and integrate them into society; migrants in IDP/refugee camps/settlements trying to cope with diseases in poor living conditions through caring for each other; hiding the matter or accusing the other of infertility problems; spending the money needed for regular medication (for	presence of vaccination and/or feeding centres; food quality and nutritional value; presence of medical assistance and medical premises; availability of medicine (including contraception); policies and laws on health matters; legal status of a migrant; awareness-raising and courses on health and nutritional issues; level and/or type of torture, abuse; the speed problems can be dealt with; availability of alcohol and/or drugs; male-female relationships; living conditions; quality of land for cultivation; financial means;	residence; assistance from others guaranteeing that a disabled migrant is able to cope with living costs and have meals; a disabled/sick migrant receiving resettlement and medical attention; disabled/sick migrants seeing no way out of a bad situation in the place of asylum and thus continuing to live with their sickness/disability-related problems; a tortured migrant coping better with pain and the new society after changing the place of residence; infectious diseases continuing to spread in IDP/refugee camps/settlements due to poor living conditions, thus causing people to become sick or die; a migrant becoming sicker or dying as the family were unable to raise sufficient money to pay for an operation; mothers coping better with nutrition-related issues after awareness raising; a person dying from physical-health problems	control; decreased control; impartial control; momentary control; forced control; shared control

				example for high blood pressure, diabetes or heart problems) on food; in cases of acute illness, a family contacting people for donations or loans for an advance payment for an operation; moving from a place in order to find food or medical assistance; an organisation raising health awareness for migrants in order to prevent deaths; coping with organ theft; selling organs in order to obtain money; coping with negative authority actions that cause physical health problems and/or death	medical doctors' education and their attitude; distance between places	because of authority abuse	
Children's health	Having limited or no control; need to increase control; agreeing to other's control; need to accept forced control; need to re-establish control; need	Dealing with children's health	Facilitating control; negotiating control; accepting control; dealing with obstructing control; sharing control; resisting control; stating	Parents agreeing to leave their sick child in the hands of doctors to improve his/her health; a local medical doctor failing to refer a child to hospital in time despite the demands of the parents; parent/s seeking assistance for their child through various organisations and the UNHCR;	Presence of medical assistance; support networks; amount and type of food available; availability of medicine (including contraception); level of cruelty by authorities, drug	A child dying from lack of care; a child becoming handicapped due to lack of care; mother/parents /siblings suffering from mental health problems due to being forced to leave a child to die; a child suffering from mental and physical health problems due to rape/attempted murder; continuation of health-related policies which prevent migrants'	Lost control; non- existent control; decreased control; gained control; regained control; simultaneous control; fluctuating control; shared control;

	to allow control		control; fearing control	parents applying for resettlement in order to save their child; an authority accepting a family with a sick child for resettlement in order to save the child's life; children who have experienced torture, abuse and seen death starting to use alcohol and/or use drugs in order to forget and feel better; a street child giving birth to a baby on the street and leaving that child unattended; a child being killed/raped as an act of revenge by military/opposition forces; a child being left to die on the street, as its mother was raped; a sick child being left along a migration route in order for others to be able to proceed with movement; leaving one's place of origin in order to find a vaccination centre for children; not taking a child to a doctor, as the family has no money to pay for the	dealers, opposition/ military forces; policies and laws on health matters; the significance of a migrant's legal status; awareness-raising and courses on health and nutritional issues; level and/or type of torture, abuse and killing; emotions like fear; the speed problems can be dealt with; availability of alcohol and/or drugs; male-female relationships; living conditions; financial means; medical doctors' education and attitude; distance between places	access to medical assistance; a child surviving after receiving the needed medical attention in a resettlement country; a street child's problems increasing due to alcohol and drugs; a street child dying in childbirth; a child receiving food assistance and/or vaccination at feeding/vaccination centre; authorities gaining control; children failing to benefit from education due to cultural traditions and thus returning to education centres as child mothers with their own babies; children being neglected after the authorities have imprisoned their parent/s; a baby dying in prison due to authorities failing to provide food, water and/or medical assistance; a child's physical health improving but mental health deteriorating	accepted control

				sudden sickness; an organisation providing opportunities for children to play and attend school; migrants, including children with mental health problems, affecting the security of other migrants by performing horrific acts and causing people to fear; a parent attempting to find someone to care for his/her children while s/he is in prison; a mother taking a baby to prison with her			
3.Problem confronting / Okaying							
INCIDENT GROUP	**CONTROL-TUNING CAUSE**	**INCIDENT CAUSE**	**CONTROL-TUNING STRATEGY**	**PRACTICAL STRATEGY**	**INTERVENING FACTORS**	**INCIDENT OUTCOME**	**CONTROL-TUNING OUTCOME**
Facing no problem	Need to increase control; need to maintain a control equilibrium; need to maintain control; need to resist other's control; no	Dealing with no problems, diminished problems and the denial of problems	Preventing control; increasing control; doubting control; stating control; fearing control; seeing only the positive	A migrant failing to admit to having problems; migrants saying they have no problems in order to prevent others' control; a migrant dealing with fewer problems than before; authorities claiming there are no problems in relation to migrants;	Ability to speak local language; religion; ability to understand and interpret; ability to conceal the truth; emotions like fear; level of safety and threat in a place; presence of problems while	A migrant feeling more at ease due to fewer problems; migrants and local residents succeeding in obtaining water, food and/or good living conditions; migrants gaining control over their personal matters; a migrant living in safety; a migrant not applying for refugee status, as there	Gained control; regained control; accepted control; feared control; possessed control; no particular control-tuning outcome

	need to change the prevailing control		side of control; no need for a particular control-tuning strategy	local residents considering it a purely positive thing to have migrants in an area; facing no particular problem and thus needing no particular strategy	*multi routing*; changes in prevailing circumstances; ability to obtain documents	are no problems; a migrant not migrating to another place, as there are no problems; stating there are no problems because of continuing fear of other migration actors; living in peace after *re-rooting home*; migrants thinking that if they had never left their place of origin, there would be no problems; effective *local mingling* between local residents and migrants; a functioning authority-migrant relationship; people married to spouses of a different religion/ethnicity living in peace	

The topic of control and migration has long been discussed from the perspective of nation-states and international alliances. This study presents a new theory, the Theory of Control Tuning. The Theory explains that the main concern of different migration actors is the processing of control, which they resolve on a continuous basis by control tuning in the behavioural arena of migration, regardless of the nature, type, geographical area, actors and time of that migration. The Theory suggests that control is a crucial aspect of everyday life for not only migrants of different statuses but also for local residents and authorities involved in migration. It also shows that activities of place coping, encountering authority, link keeping and knowledge dealing are central to migration. The Theory of Control Tuning represents a multi- and interdisciplinary way of thinking about migration and a grounded middle-range theory between empirical data and formal theory.

Department of Geosciences and Geography A66
ISSN-L 1798-7911
ISSN 1798-7911 (print)
ISBN 978-951-51-3985-6 (paperback)
ISBN 978-951-51-3986-3 (PDF)
http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/

Painosalama Oy
Turku 2018

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI
FACULTY OF SCIENCE